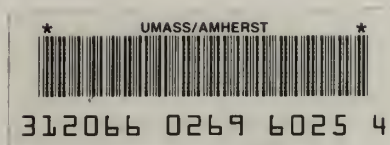


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2005

"GETTING AN EDGE ON THE FUTURE"

A look at our city and state 10 years down the road

*A Transcript from the Proceedings
of the McCormack Institute's Eight Annual
Public Affairs Seminar*

April 10, 1995

*Coordinated and edited by
Kathleen J. Foley and Ian Menzies*

August 1995



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2005
"GETTING AN EDGE ON THE FUTURE"

A look at our city and state 10 years down the road

*The McCormack Institute's eighth annual public affairs seminar
on*

PLANNED GROWTH IN A PROTECTED ENVIRONMENT

Monday, April 10, 1995

8:30 A.M. - 1:45 P.M.

University Club, 11th floor, Healey Library

University of Massachusetts Boston

Co-sponsored by the Mass. Chapter, American Planning Association & 1000 Friends of Massachusetts

AGENDA

8:15 A.M.

REGISTRATION AND COFFEE

8:30 A.M.

RICHARD HOGARTY

WELCOME AND INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Director, McCormack Institute

IAN MENZIES

Senior Fellow, McCormack Institute

Moderator

SHERRY PENNEY

Chancellor, UMass Boston

SESSION I

8:45 A.M. - 9:30 A.M.

OF TOLLS, TURNPIKES, MEGAPLEXES

ET AUX: A VIEW FROM BEACON HILL

THOMAS FINNERAN

Chair, House Ways and Means
Committee

Q & A

9:30 A.M. - 10:30 A.M.

BOSTON AND ITS SUBURBS:

NEEDED - A NEW LIAISON

THOMAS MENINO

Mayor of Boston

HUBIE JONES

Senior Fellow, McCormack Institute

GEOFF BECKWITH

Ex. Dir., Mass. Municipal Association

ALAN LUPO

Boston Globe Columnist

Q & A

10:30 A.M. - 10:45 A.M.

COFFEE BREAK

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IAN MENZIES: Good morning ladies and gentlemen and welcome. To open this eighth annual forum on planned growth in a protected environment, I'd like to introduce Professor Richard Hogarty, who is the Director of the McCormack Institute.

RICHARD HOGARTY: Thank you, Ian. On behalf of the McCormack Institute and the Massachusetts Chapter of the American Planning Association, and 1000 Friends of Massachusetts, who are co-sponsoring this conference today, I would like to welcome you all, not only to the McCormack Institute but to UMass Boston.

This conference for the past several years has been the highlight of our public education and public awareness programs here at the McCormack Institute.

Indeed, at this point in time, as they say in Star Wars, but more precisely after the post 1994 Congressional elections, to suggest the creation of a fourth level of American Government for metropolitan regions seems on the merits, manifestly ridiculous. Never, at least, since anti Federalists days has the fervor of grass roots and States' Rights ideology burned more brightly and never has the slash and burn strategy to decimate the half century pattern of independent American Federalism waxed so strong.

David Walker's term of conflicted Federalism is an apt characterization of the desire to cut domestic national programs ruthlessly and to replenish political vigor at state and local levels. The two great laws of timing and momentum suggest that everywhere the public sector is down and the private sector is up and what remains in the public sector is resolutely devolving.

Yet, manifest appearances do not always coincide with latent realities. Beneath the surface of an apparently relentless and at times, mean spirited drive to cut or eliminate

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domestic programs, that our three levels of government have carried out together since the Eisenhower era are some powerful, albeit, almost subterranean countervailing forces.

These suggest that shrinking the Beltway and eliminating the national deficit are not sufficient strategies to meet the inescapable demands for public action, stipulate that the 1994 revolt against national policy will take place in many program areas and that the devolution to states and localities seems ordained.

It does not follow that conflicted Federalism, as it has emerged, can successfully carry out expanded responsibilities without structural reform. Under present circumstances, the case for the resurgence of metropolitan political institutions between the conventional tiers of state and local governance may well be stronger than at any time since the modern post World War II movement when the metropolitan reform began.

Today our speakers will regale us with a summary of the painful history of these efforts to build regional government and the mistakes made in these efforts over the past 50 years. Acknowledging the embarrassing failure of the metro or bust movement, they go on to ask the obvious questions. Why again? Why now? They proceed to suggest an agenda relevant to our times. Finally they suggest a new politics and program of reform that just possibly may signal an idea whose time has come and a momentum sufficient to build on the evolution. With these introductory remarks, I welcome you to the University and I would now like to introduce our Chancellor, Sherry Penney. [applause]

SHERRY PENNEY: Thank you very much, Dick. I'm very pleased to be with you here today and to welcome you on behalf of the University of Massachusetts Boston. We are the only public university in the City of Boston, serving 12,000 students.

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We do believe that one of the major roles of an urban university is to sponsor meetings such as this, when difficult topics are addressed by people of concern who come together on common ground to look at these issues.

At this conference we will try to determine how we can prepare this region for the future and whether the right pieces are in place to make this region a better place to live in the year 2005. If they are not in place, what should we be doing to make it so? In respect to the economy, employment, economic development and our role in the city.

You represent a host of community, municipal, state and regional agencies, educational institutions and private concerns. You join us from 33 communities, from Barnstable on the Cape to Northampton. And several of you have come from New Hampshire and Rhode Island.

We will discuss the prospects for the year 2005 with a distinguished group of public officials as already outlined in your program. I, in turn, sincerely want to thank many of them--Mayor Menino, who is a UMass Boston graduate, State Environmental Secretary Trudy Coxe, Regional EPA Administrator, John DeVillars, Secretary of Transportation, James Kerasiotes, MWRA Director Doug MacDonald, Hubie Jones of the McCormack Institute, Alan Lupo of the *Boston Globe*, Geoff Beckwith of the Mass. Municipal Association. All of these people promise a very, very exciting conference.

And I'd also like to thank in advance Barney Frank, who will be our luncheon speaker, commenting on the Contract with America in the first hundred days.

It's now my privilege, however, to introduce our first speaker, the Honorable Thomas Finneran of Mattapan, Representative of Twelfth Suffolk District and Chair of the House Ways and Means Committee. He has served as a member of the House of

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Representatives since 1979 and is former Chair of the House Banks and Banking Committee. His insights for the Commonwealth as we look ahead toward the next decade will be invaluable for us today.

As Chancellor of the University of Massachusetts Boston, I can say that we cannot contemplate the future without bearing in mind the consequences of our recent history, experiencing 11 budget cuts and the loss of 30 percent of our state budget, but in the process and in facing unexpected difficulties a year ago now with our air quality system, it was the support of the Legislature and particularly Representative Finneran, which saw us through.

Looking to our own future amid the reversions, we turned back to our mission and began a process of restructuring that would highlight our identity as an urban public university. Our mission called for us also to reach out for partnerships and collaborations with other institutions in the region. We believe that one critical way we are accountable to the State for our scarce resources is by collaborating with public agencies in the Commonwealth, because as our activities are affected by the fiscal state so are theirs.

We know we're not alone in facing tight budgets and restructuring. The prospects of other public agencies in the Commonwealth, as we approach 2005, are therefore closely tied to our own. For that reason, and especially given his support for us, I am very pleased to introduce to you a good friend of ours and a prime mover in the future of the Commonwealth, The Honorable Thomas Finneran. [applause]

THOMAS FINNERAN: I'm going to make a quick detour, not to avoid most of the questions that are addressed to me at this time of year which are hostile, inevitably. We start budget debate in the House of Representatives in about 40 minutes, but we made

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a little--there's just a procedural slip in the introductions, or in the order of speakers and I am here today at the express invitation of Kathleen Foley and Ian Menzies of the McCormack Institute. I much prefer just to follow my own Tom Finneran protocol, to have the gentleman who asked me to come and speak make some welcoming remarks as well and then I'll just follow Ian. OK? So, if you can bear with my little procedural niceties, let me introduce Ian Menzies. [applause]

IAN MENZIES: Thank you Mr. Chairman.

I would just like to say it's like 'Old Home Week' around here. I see so many familiar faces and that's just great so I do give you another hearty welcome to the McCormack Institute's Eighth Annual Conference.

I was thinking as we put this year's session together, which is co-produced by the McCormack Institute's Assistant Director, Kathleen Foley, that first-time attendees especially might wonder what our objective is, and why we do this.

Two main reasons: First, it's designed as a sort of Ed Sullivan type all-star political parade of the State's key leaders, the decision makers, both elected and appointed. I believe that's good for us, and good for them, because it provides a live confrontation. One gets a better reading of a person face-to-face than on a TV screen, or reading a newspaper report.

Point Two: The thrust of these conferences has been, from the beginning, under the rubric of managed growth and a protected environment, and we read this to mean how do we improve this state as a place to live and work within sensible land use policies, planned business and industrial growth, regionalized cooperation between municipalities and a protected environment.

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Each year we try to bite off a piece of that challenge through the good graces and willing cooperation of such movers and shakers as we'll hear from today. Importantly, too, it is an opportunity to ask a direct question and receive a direct answer or at least a direct non answer. [laughter]

In turn, you are in a position, as professionals, to relate to others your thoughts on what you hear today. Thus upping the dialogue and influencing the decision making. I do hope, however, you avoid the dilemma of three professionals, a priest, a lawyer and an engineer, who were led to the guillotine during the French Revolution. The priest was the first to have his head placed in the block. Down came the knife, but it stuck some six inches above his head. "Ah!," said the priest, "This is Divine Providence. God knew I was innocent."

Next, came the lawyer. Again, the heavy knife just stuck above his head. "Ah!," said the lawyer, "This proves justice prevails."

Then up stepped the engineer. He looked at the executioner and the block and said, "I can fix this." [laughter]

Well, I don't know how well we can fix things today but this is how we'll present them. And as you saw from the flyer and from the agenda, you just picked up, we have asked our speakers to look ahead, ten years down the road and tell us what we must do to make this state a better place by 2005; a better place in which to live, work and grow in. Are the pieces in place to do the job? If not, what are those pieces? And, of course, we can expect an update on where we're at right now in ongoing projects and those in the pipeline.

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Tom Finneran will be our first speaker and I just wanted to say on this, that one of the issues we've hot buttoned over the years is the need for far greater interplay between communities, surrounding the State's major cities--Boston, Worcester, Springfield, Fall River, New Bedford, etc.

Sometimes we call it regionalization or metropolitanization. We've talked about it for years but done too little about it. Mayor Menino has filed a bill calling for a commission to study inter-municipal, cooperative opportunities in the greater Boston area. He will lead a panel that will discuss this issue and what it might mean to the City.

Geoff Beckwith will look at the suburban side and prominent Boston writers and activists, Hubie Jones and Al Lupo, the people side. Following that, we'll get a window on the environment from Trudy Coxe and John DeVillars. What's going right; what's wrong? Are Republicans backing away from environmental controls as some charge? Then, too, the Big Digs on Land and Sea, an update from James Kerasiotes and Douglas MacDonald. Will the money to finish keep coming? Then, at lunch, Congressman Barney Frank will look at the national picture. He may well take a bite, not only at the Contract, but at Newt as well. Tom Finneran. [Applause.]

THOMAS FINNERAN: Thank you, Ian, for the remarks. And just for, I think, exacerbating the regrets that I feel at being really required to leave and be elsewhere by about 10:00 o'clock this morning. The panel that you and Kathleen and Chancellor Penney have assembled are obviously, with the exception of myself, not only distinguished, but responsible, I think, for many of the things that will make or break Massachusetts and the New England region in the years ahead.

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Each and every one of those topics, just the individual topics that will be addressed briefly today are probably worthy of at least a one-day, if not a one-week or one-month seminar and the people who will speak to you about those specific projects are indeed the people with the most knowledge and the most direct responsibility for bringing them to a successful fruition.

As I listened to Ian's remarks, I was really struck by two things. First of all that really the thrust of today's discussion or gathering is the State of Massachusetts and where will we be in the year 2005 and are the systems in place to make Massachusetts and the communities of Massachusetts a better place?

What struck me, of course, is that at my age now I realize that 2005 is just around the corner and I'm not sure that we have enough time to do much of anything.

The other thing that struck me is that Ian seemed to hint so let me make it more than a hint, let me make it an explicit statement that there will be an opportunity through this face-to-face interchange to ask some questions and receive answers.

And indeed you might be able to experience first-hand, what was Ian's phrase? A direct non-answer to a question. That is something that politicians practice, I think, to an art form. As I approached today's topic, and really wondered what I might say that would provide some glimpse of my thinking on the entire topic of where we are today and where we go, how we move ahead as a society toward 2005?

I must concede that I think, contrary to my natural state, my natural disposition, which is probably relatively buoyant, optimistic, that today I feel a sense more of pessimism than I do of optimism about the ability of Massachusetts to get a hold of itself, to get control of its future and to embrace policies that will be able to be sustained and

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that will improve living here in Massachusetts for all the citizens in and about or by the year 2005.

I should stress that it's pessimism, it's not depression. I am not so terribly, terribly frustrated by events here in Massachusetts or events across the country that I don't think that there is any opportunity or hope for us. But, indeed, I do have the sense and I share with you that it's a pessimistic view that I bring.

The reason for it, I think, more than anything else, is that American society to me, seems to have an inordinate focus on short-term results. Everything seems to be the very immediate horizon, although horizon would be the wrong word to use, because the horizon, indeed, suggests or implies that one is lifting their head from the foxhole, the day-to-day crises or issues or challenges that confront all of us, no matter what our work. When you use the word "horizon" you truly are lifting your eyes and looking ahead.

We don't do that in this country or in this state often enough. Our culture almost seems to frown upon it. I could race through a series of things and that's what I'll do, I'll race through them, that suggest that in almost any area that that short-term focus is the standard by which people are measured and judged and I think it is to the detriment obviously of the people who will follow us and the institutions that will have to be in place in the year 2005 and beyond. So that, at least our children will have a fighting chance of continuing to move society ahead.

That short term focus, sadly, particularly in politics, but also in almost every other area of endeavor, generally forces somebody to choose what is expedient or what is superficial as opposed to what is of long-term value.

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If one looks to the areas of banking, particularly since banks began to change from a mutual form of ownership to a stock form of ownership, you no longer see the type of integrity or long-term planning or thought given to the needs of a particular community, the viability of a banking institution that may have sat on the same corner for 40 or 50 years and served remarkably well in many, many cases generation after generation after generation of people who needed access to capital, a safe place for their savings and access to capital for the purchase of a home, for the start of a business or anything else.

It's not just in banking. In the entire corporate or economic culture our world seems to focus very, very much today on mergers and acquisitions. The payment of dividends at an ever-accelerating rate with no thought to the long-term viability of corporations. Merger, acquisition, buy-offs, sell-off, trade and obviously as part of that, the concomitant reduction in research and development.

I don't think there could be a more glaring example or illumination of the problem that I think this country is afflicted by than that. A corporation that is literally betting all of its money and its success on short-term performance and literally punishing people, at least in the way of the marketplace and generally in the way managers are rewarded or compensated. Punishing people who have the temerity to think that there is a time line of ten or even 20 years. Perhaps it's just a hallmark of American society or American culture, we're a nation with a very, very brief history.

I won't digress too much, but I had the splendid opportunity to take my mother, who is 75 years old, my wife and my children over to Rome during Christmas and it was my first visit ever to Europe, and I would love to go back, and I was absolutely awestruck. I consider myself to be fairly well read, certainly not as literate or as well read

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as my mother and that's another comment, I suppose that I could save for another time and place, about the growing illiteracy of people in America, including those who carry college and advanced degrees, compared to another time when reading and education just for the purpose of the satisfaction of curiosity and knowledge, intellectual stimulation, was appreciated.

That being said, Rome was an absolutely incredible spectacle of history, of culture, of art, of religion, of all those things and I'll never, ever, ever get over the feeling of standing in front of (Roman experts among us forgive me if I make a mistake), the Church of Santa Maria Maggior and the doors that lead in there are the doors from the old Roman Senate, 2,000 years old.

To stand in front of those doors and to think of that sense of history and that sense of culture and then compare it here in Massachusetts and in Boston, to the Freedom Trail, which we all see as ancient. It was only two hundred years ago that we were shooting at the Red Coats and we think we have a great historical perspective here in Boston.

Perhaps we do in comparison to the rest of the country and I don't know if it helps or not to make the point, but it's an incredible short-term focus. It's a myopia, if you will, that again prevents us from looking to the long term or to the horizon.

There are two other, I think, afflictions that relate to that short-term focus. I think the way the Press conveys stories today does a terrible, terrible injustice to the guiding purpose of the First Amendment. I look upon the Press perhaps somewhat naively. Most of my colleagues in the Legislature and in government would say absolutely naively that their duty and their role and their responsibility is to convey information.

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It seems to me today that it is more to purvey scandal or controversy. Nobody says that we should duck controversy because out of the heat of any debate, any argument back and forth, you hope to get some light, some illumination that will provide you answers or solutions to those problems. But it seems to me that the Press has a particular attraction to hunting for trophies rather than trying to inform and educate the general citizenry.

Last but not least, the institution in which I work, let me describe it as elective office rather than just the Legislature because I think the observation applies to no matter which level one serves, whether it's in the federal level or it's at the state level or in municipal or local government.

Once again, a short-term myopia, a blurring, if you will, an inability to lift one's head up and look to the horizon and to think long-term strategically for the benefit of the Commonwealth. There is no particular event that I can point to that would be able to demonstrate in a clear way what has changed with elected officials, why they seem to no longer think of the long-term interest of the society, of the state or of the nation. It's not as if terms of office once upon a time were four, six, eight or ten years and therefore brought a long-term focus into the particular elected officials' thinking process. They've always been short-term and quite honestly, I feel that they should be. It's a great, great danger to let any elected official drift from you, from the people who elect him or her for an extended period of time.

What has been lost, and again, I can't point to any decisive event, is that sense of moral responsibility or moral imperative that those who hold office today should not betray the office or run it down in either an expenditure way or in any other way, so that

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the circumstances are somewhat worse for those who follow them. This country, this nation, always had a sense of that moral responsibility or that moral imperative that their duties and their challenges were to be met to the best of their present ability but absolutely never to be met or discharged by mortgaging the next generation's wealth and that, sadly, is what this country has begun to do on a regular basis.

The only time at all that it was even acceptable in past times for any elected body to talk about spending the next generation's opportunity and wealth was in time of extreme national crisis and emergency. War. And that was the only event in which it was considered appropriate.

We have been so far removed as a nation from the rigors of war for such a long period of time that I think many of us, including myself, I myself have never experienced really in my lifetime because the Vietnam War, which occurred when I was of age, was not considered by many to be a war. We were trying to be a nation at that particular point in time, to be all things to all people and were not prepared, I think, to go through what the circumstances of war generally in the past have implied for a nation.

That being said, without that type of national commitment, that national undertaking that was reflected in Korea, World War II, World War I and the earlier wars, we have as a nation continued to spend at an incredibly reckless rate the future wealth and the future opportunity of the generations that will follow. I think that, sadly, the absence of the moral imperative today is something that has to be recaptured and recaptured fairly quickly. I don't know whether it can be, again, because of that short-term focus that I talked about.

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We have to begin to moderate short-term appetites, looking for things of long-term interest. Ian, Kathleen and Sherry Penney had asked me specifically today to touch briefly on "Tolls, Turnpikes and Megaplexes," which I guess is the specific topic that I've been asked to address.

With regard to tolls and turnpikes, I think you are going to see, and you have begun to see, the development of a debate at the national level down to the local level more and more a reliance, if not a dependence, upon so-called user fees. People who demand or request and utilize the particular service that might be provided by a governmental, quasi-governmental or authority-type agency will be for the most part the people who will bear the cost.

Indeed, Congress themselves, who have resisted that notion for such a long, long period of time have now begun to embrace it as a policy, and the National Transportation Acts of just a few years ago, and on the one that is now being debated, I think for re-authorization later this fall, they are actually encouraging roads and highways for example that are built with federal funds to become toll roads. Even in Washington now, there's a recognition that the fiscal approach or direction that they've utilized in the past is not one that can be sustained. And, therefore, I think you will probably see more and more reflected that type of approach.

With regard to a megaplex, I'm not sure what side of the coin I'm on in terms of the popular will or popular opinion. I try not to pay too much attention to that because I think popular opinion can be swayed many, many times with inappropriate rhetorical excess or flourish.

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We, as a state, carry an incredible amount of debt. As we sit here this morning, in this university, which in and of itself could probably use a hundred million dollars of capital repairs, renovations and expansions, some people are suggesting with a straight face that this Commonwealth has the capacity and should actually take the affirmative step of going out and building a domed stadium to attract the mega millions of tourists who will then flock to our shores. I think it's an absurd premise. It's reflective, however, of much of the thinking that goes on. What some people seem to characterize as thinking in modern society, in modern politics.

So many officials are afflicted by what I'll call an "edifice complex." Let's build something. So that they can have their name associated with something without any thought or judgment as to what it means for the people who will follow and what choices you are making when you embrace such a monstrosity. If we approach this with an absolutely clean slate, if 1000 Friends of Massachusetts, the American Planning Association and others who take a more long-term focus than elected officials were about to perhaps pull back this curtain and say we have a hundred square miles of open space here in the middle of nowhere, let's plan the perfect metropolitan area with highways and infrastructure and schools and megaplexes and stadiums and all the host of things that one would like to see in a bustling modern-day metropolis, and if we carried little or no debt into that opportunity, then perhaps and only then, does a megaplex, a domed stadium make sense.

But we have a very, very small land mass here in Boston, one already remarkably congested and well developed. We have an incredible shortage of hotels already with little or no room for further development.

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Boston is a remarkable city because it has maintained its integrity and character and has not become one of the faceless glass tower cities that are so characteristic of so many other places in this country. It is not New York City and many people, myself included, would say, "Thank God!" It is not Las Vegas. It is not Miami Beach. It is not New Orleans. It is not so many things and it is remarkable and distinct and uniquely Boston.

And the proponents of a megaplex literally seem to have taken the line from the *Field of Dreams*, "If you build it, they will come." I have never heard such nonsense or drivel in my life. You will not get a conventioner to come to Boston to attend his or her convening event when they have to be put up in a hotel that is somewhere on the other side of the Cape Cod Canal or west of Worcester or north of Medford and we don't have the capacity, and yet people with a straight face will suggest that we are not going to be major league as a city or as a state unless we embrace this fiction.

The choices that the embrace of such a project imply are as follows. You will step back inevitably from the following: The construction of schools at all levels, elementary, middle and high school. The construction, renovation and expansion of facilities such as this, which struggle already in trying to fulfill their mission. So you will see less in higher education, whether it's in dormitories, libraries, laboratories, computers, student centers, athletic complexes or the things that make up a fine university.

You will see a retreat from water and sewage plants. You will see a retreat from roads and bridges and tunnels. You will see a retreat from libraries. You will see a retreat from prison construction. You would see a retreat virtually across the board from all the

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capital expenditures that in my mind fall far more clearly in the realm of appropriate public expenditure.

And yet this monstrosity of megaplex is suggested to us: One, so that we can somehow or other achieve major league status. I think we have it and we don't have to bribe anybody to retain it. And two, so that we can somehow or other appease interests that suggest that we are not visionary unless we try to compete with what New Orleans or Miami or Jacksonville or any of those other cities and towns offer to their professional sports franchise owners.

I don't think the business of public office is to see who can play it to the lowest common denominator or who can hold out the largest bribe or emolument to already incredibly wealthy people. If people bought a pro sports franchise for a particular figure and they found out it's losing money, gee, guess what? Life is tough.

I've got a lot of friends who at different times invested in a Dunkin' Donuts franchise, or a gas station, or a florist shop, and they may have over-paid. They don't have the nerve or the gall to come to the legislature and suggest that a bail-out is in order. And yet that, sadly, folks, is what we see, not so much visibly around the debate of the megaplex now. But don't worry. It's lurking in the background, and that is truly what is driving the whole notion.

If I have left any uncertainty in your mind as to where I stand--

[Laughter.]

--I'll be glad to return.

Permit me two other comments. I know I told Sherry and Ian I'm going to be very brief, because I have to go off to the House, and I apologize for going on as long as I

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have. But perhaps this has almost been more stream of consciousness than anything that's either rational or coherent.

I'm not sure how this relates to what we've been discussing. But there's an event that I think happened in Massachusetts many years ago--the historians can correct me, but it's many, many decades ago--that I think was probably the most important event in the economic development and life of Massachusetts. That event, in my opinion, was the construction of the Quabbin Reservoir. By the provision of water for not only Boston, but all of Metropolitan Boston, we--that project--allowed this Commonwealth to literally flourish and to go forward.

Today I don't think a Quabbin Reservoir project could even begin to get off the ground. I think if more than five of you gathered to plan for the next Quabbin, for the next generations that will follow us, you will be slapped with a lawsuit with inside of about 48 hours, and perhaps even prosecuted for some type of conspiracy to do the public grand, grand harm

We seem to have empowered individuals/communities to such an extent that they now create an absolute impediment or road block to projects that will undoubtedly serve the larger common weal, or common interest. And I'm not sure what the answer is, because I think if I was a resident of one of those five communities whose homes and businesses and everything had been displaced, and indeed destroyed, I don't think probably that I'd feel so nonchalant as I do from my end.

People in Boston, and again the surrounding areas, have been the principal beneficiaries. I would argue that Massachusetts has been the larger beneficiary as a whole. And I don't think that it's appropriate that anybody set up or applaud or sustain the system

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that will literally trample or stampede and run roughshod over individual rights or individual communities' concerns. But I also think there has to be a much better balance than has been struck heretofore.

The language that Congress uses in its statutes, the language that the Massachusetts Legislature embraces in its statutes, when it comes to the empowerment of individuals or communities who are in positions, because of either ideology or self-interest or anything else, to oppose a particular project that might indeed serve the larger interests, the language is a lawyer's dream. You can stand the entire state of Massachusetts, and indeed this nation, on its ear with the language that has been put forward by Congressmen and representatives and senators. And we, those people who purport or hope to serve you and to serve this nation and state in their various elective offices, have to do a much, much better job at recognizing and keeping intact the fundamental rights we all want to enjoy and utilize as citizens, while also recognizing that we are part of a much, much larger--a much larger fabric.

Last but not least, I said that I entered this whole topic of debate with a tinge or a note of pessimism, contrary to my, I think, usual approach to so many, many things in life, it would be inappropriate for me to close on a note of doom and gloom. It is a glorious day out there for those of you who haven't seen it. When I last checked, not only were my crocuses in bloom, but the daffodils are very, very soon to follow. In my garden I have eggplant, tomatoes and morning glories that have already sprouted inside.

So on a positive note--and I know that I do not have a reputation for blowing kisses at groups that ask me to speak. Perhaps the hallmark is that I am sometimes too--much too directly candid and confrontational on certain issues. If there is some light

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for me, who approached this and suggested to you that I'm pessimistic about the future, the light is as follows:

Folks and institutions such as the McCormack Institute--which have convened gatherings such as this for now eight years--the American Planning Association, and indeed 1000 Friends of Massachusetts, these groups obviously have, if not the luxury, at least the advantage of not being subject to that short-term terror that I described earlier. They do not have to succumb to the expedient. They do have the opportunity to think clearly and with some focus, and without any of the short-term special interest pressure that can be applied about where we are today and where we hope to be in 2005, and lifting their heads to the horizon that's even beyond that to 2015 and beyond.

It's amazing to me, when I sit down at my law office and help people buy or sell a home, and you look at the terms and everything else, and people almost very casually undertake 20- and 25- and 30-year mortgages. And they have a plan. So people in their own ordinary work-day lives have a sense as to who they are, what they are, what they want to be and what they hope to achieve. I think that the McCormack Institute, the 1000 Friends, and the Planning Association, serve those of us who serve in public life by providing us with a great opportunity to listen, to learn, and to respond.

I'm hopeful that we're capable of responding to what comes out of the gathering here today and what the follow-up will be as we look ahead. And let me close with that and see if there aren't any questions that I might give a direct non-answer to.

[Laughter.]

IAN MENZIES : So, questions, and please, identify yourself because these proceedings will be transcribed and published.

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THOMAS FINNERAN: That's frightening that my remarks are going to be on transcript. I'm scared to death.

IAN MENZIES: Yes, go ahead.

STEPHANIE POLLACK: Hi. I'm Stephanie Pollack from the Conservation Law Foundation. Given how candid you were on the megaplex issue, I'm wondering if you might shed a little bit more light on the tolls and turnpikes and user fee part of it, because it seems, despite some national debate and debate in other states, that in Massachusetts we're in a position where we're rolling back driver's license fees and automobile registration fees, and gasoline costs less than bottled water, and people are talking about freezing what few tolls we have for decades into the future, and it's hard to imagine that there's any serious political possibility of talking about user fees for roads, despite what CLF considers to be pretty good evidence that we're not paying our way, drivers are not paying their way.

THOMAS FINNERAN: Stephanie raises a number of valid issues in her question. And literally, if she had seen me or if I had seen her the day after we concluded debate in the House, or the night after we concluded debate in the House on the most recent little phase of the Central Artery Third Harbor Tunnel, I think we'd still be out on the town somewhere, Stephanie

[Laughter.]

Very rarely have I been so depressed or discouraged or literally tired after a debate, a debate that is extremely troubling to me, extremely divisive, and one that, more than anything else, I think, exhibited once again that short-term tendency--"Oh, gee, we've

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got a problem. How do I gloss it over so that I can go back home and look good?"--rather than being honest.

I try to suggest from time to time that the truth is the most--absolutely the most liberating thing that anybody can ever experience. And it's when you begin to dissemble and deceive and throw up clouds and clouds of smoke that you're not quite sure which way to move because you can't remember which fib you told two weeks ago. Everything you say is true.

The short-term and long-term political prognostications would suggest that it's going to be extraordinarily difficult getting the Massachusetts motoring public to recognize that a project of the Central Artery Third Harbor Tunnel scope, combined with the universal determination to maintain a very, very aggressive road and tunnel and bridge construction project across the state that it can be continued and sustained, without coming to grips with a few things; either tolls or gas taxes or increased auto registrations, or some combination thereof.

It's reflective of, I think, so sadly, so many impulses afloat today in America. "Give it to me now. I want the party. But I don't want to pay for it." I call it the "open bar at a wedding" type of situation

[Laughter.]

We've all done it. I'm guilty of it myself. I'll be at a wedding. I could be right up here with this wonderful group here, and we'll be sitting and talking a breeze, and I'll have a nice Heineken in front of me. And it starts to get just a little warm, because I've only finished half of it. Well, generally speaking, on my own dime I'm going to nurse the half.

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But if the host was silly enough to say, "Hey, this is an open bar forever and ever." Hey, Finneran's the--you know, the big time party goer. Let's get another round up here.

And that's, sadly, what we do in politics so often, Stephanie. It's extraordinarily frustrating that people are not willing to come to grips with the cost of the things that they desire or demand. Very, very frustrating.

PETER COLSON: Mr. Chairman, my name is Peter Colson. I'm a city councilor from Quincy. And I'd like to ask--you talk about long term/short term--what is the prospective on the long-term support from the State of Massachusetts as it relates to the MWRA rate relief? Is it this year, next year, we have a shortfall, does everything fall on its face, or what. Can you shed some light on that? Or do you want to shed any light on it?

[Laughter.]

THOMAS FINNERAN: Another direct non-answer coming at you, Peter. I think Massachusetts will be able to maintain what it has embraced or committed to over the past two or three years in the form of water and sewer rate relief. The pressure will be that as other jurisdictions--SESD, New Bedford, Fall River, Worcester and some other places come to mind--as they come on line and look to similar assistance, they do have an argument that is equitable if nothing else.

Why would the people in the MWRA community be entitled to state relief on water and sewer, if indeed their communities are no longer eligible. So there will be some pressure on us, but I think we have a way to sustain it. If we have the discipline, again, to resist megaplex and some other foolish notions, we should be able to do that.

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What we cannot do, and what I have suggested would be a horribly inappropriate policy, is to pretend that we can step into any void or any gap that might be created as the federal government retreats. We've seen a great deal of commentary and news reports lately on \$50,000,000 versus \$100,000,000 and Congressman Blute fighting with Congressman Moakley about who is going to get credit and what we're entitled to.

This state is not in a position--nor indeed do I think any state in the nation is in a position--to really begin to make up those gaps that might be created as the federal government begins to try to at least get some of its fiscal house in order. And the federal government, no matter what happens in the elections two years hence, both in Congress and at the White House level, I don't think is likely to reverse the direction we've begun to see develop.

There's just a growing recognition that we have spent and misspent this nation into incredible debt. It doesn't matter to me whether you're liberal or conservative. I know George Will has a reputation of being an incredibly conservative writer. I like generally the way he expresses himself and the way he thinks.

And the one thing I particularly applaud George Bush for is this: If the American public has an appetite for a certain level of services, the most conservative approach is to have a requisite level of appetite for the taxes to support those services.

The most inappropriate conservative approach to that is to try to be all things to all people, and say, "We'll keep the services going but don't worry, your taxes will be down." Reduce one or the other, but do it commensurate--or raise. Do them commensurately. I think we would have to resist on the state level the notion that we are

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now obligated somehow to step into the breach that might be created as the federal government pares down its level of support.

At \$50,000,000 from us this year, roughly \$50,000,000 water and sewer rate increases in the MWRA community--my house and yours, Peter--will probably go up on the order of \$50 per household; not anything that I'm happy about. But to be perfectly honest I would be unrealistic and a dreamer if I insisted or demanded that we keep it at zero percent. That's not a sustainable policy. And the most important thing is that that little body of water right out there behind us is finally becoming fishable and swimmable, so that people can utilize it.

Generations of Bostonians--literally not just Boston but all the way around, from the North Shore, to the Quincys, Weymouths and Hingham--have used that harbor as a resource, the type of resource that one would expect it to be for hundreds of thousands of youngsters and families who don't have the means to go to the mountains in New Hampshire or the beaches at the Cape.

The direction or the policy is right; the cost of it is troubling. It's a reflection of what the people who served before you did, Peter, and before I did, ignored and neglected that harbor for so many, many years, the cost of fixing it today is horrendous.

IAN MENZIES: Yes, ma'am. Well, ladies before gentlemen.

MELANIE KASPARIAN: Thank you very much. My name is Melanie Kasparian. I'm a teacher on leave from Springfield, and filling a capacity as Vice-President of the Mass. Teachers Association. And I was very taken by your comments about short-term focus and not investing and not looking at 10 and 20 years down the road.

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So I guess my question is to you, Mr. Chairman, why is it that every time in this state that we begin something that deals with an investment in education, we don't continue it; that after two years, as we start to feel steady on our feet that investment is cut? If in fact this Commonwealth is going to go forward, then it seems to me it has to have an educated base. And the majority of our children are in the public schools.

So, in line with what you have said, why is it that we cannot in fact commit to an investment in education and look down the road for 10 or 20 years and see what it is that we can do?

THOMAS FINNERAN: We could commit to that. The mistake that we make is not only that, when we commit to the establishment of that priority--which I believe you and I share probably without a glimmer of difference--I'm a product of the Boston Public Schools, my daughters are in the Boston Public Schools, they're at Boston Latin School. Any opportunities that I've had have come literally through the ladder, if you will, that education provides.

And if one looks at Massachusetts--and we're talking about the year 2005 ahead, we don't have much going for us as a state in terms of our geographic location. We're very remote and removed, at a high-cost center away from the hustle and bustle--the intersection if you will--of this nation.

We don't have any natural resources, we don't have agricultural lands with which to feed the nation, or lumber and timber with which to house the nation, or oil and gas with which to heat and fuel the nation. So the one thing that we do have, I think, historically and in the years ahead is brain power; entrepreneurial activity that will literally come from the efforts of people such as yourself in the classroom.

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Why do we retreat from the policy inevitably? I think I've seen five education reform bills in my relatively brief time on Beacon Hill. For two reasons: We make the mistake again, and continue to repeat that mistake, of trying to be all things to all people.

A priority--we abuse language so badly in public life it is incredible. Priority is a choice; it's an explicit statement of what is important. You establish priorities in a particular rank or order. Elected officials want to try to avoid that exercise at all costs. So we embrace a policy or a priority--in this case ed reform. I would characterize it also as again the short-term, expedient focus.

We've put too much into it to sustain it. The promise is overly rash from the beginning. You have to take a promise that's real and sustainable, make sure that you know that you can go through thick and thin, through--and I don't even want to say that they're roller coaster cycles, because they're not--but through the gradual cycles that any economic system brings, that you can maintain the promise, so that, one, the promise is discharged, and, two, your credibility as an institution is enhanced.

We never do it. We always like to come forward with a grandiose press release that shows that this version of ed reform is so much superior to the one that just preceded it that we had only broken several months earlier. And we continue to repeat. It's a recurring pattern or habit of behavior that's very, very difficult to get a grip on.

But the choices suggest that other things are going to be a less priority and are going to have to be dropped or revamped or eliminated, and people resist that, they resist that behavior. I'm not sure if that's an answer to your question.

IAN MENZIES: I'm conscious of the Chairman's time. So could we make this the last question?

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QUESTIONER: Yeah. This is in a way a follow-up to the previous two questions. We all know that Congressional budget cuts are going to hit us within the next couple of years. And I think that cities are going to be particularly affected by those cuts in several ways. One way is that there will be reductions in appropriations, of course, and allocations to the state. But perhaps more important, block grants may be a disadvantage for cities like Boston and your district and so on.

My question to you is: How effective will the Legislature and our delegation be in serving as an equalizer to the extent that most of the backlash against the cities in a way comes from suburban voters that indeed have elected the new Congress?

IAN MENZIES: Could you just identify yourself, sir?

EDWIN MELENDEZ: I'm Edwin Melendez, Professor of Economics here at UMass Boston and Director of the Gaston Institute.

IAN MENZIES: Thank you.

THOMAS FINNERAN: I'm not sure how the delegation will fare, or how well urban legislators will be able to protect what they think is essential in the years ahead. There certainly is--you've put your finger on a noticeable trend, and indeed a fact of political life.

The voting centers, or the voting power, has absolutely shifted to a suburban context and a suburban constituency, which leaves older urban centers at a terrible, terrible disadvantage. They have always been the center, if you will, for the deprived, for the disadvantaged. The mentally ill cluster in urban centers. There is no Greyhound or Trailways bus terminal that just drops people off in the middle of Franklin, for example.

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But there are obviously such centers in each and every city, whether it's New York or Boston, you name it.

I'm struggling for an answer because I'm not sure that there is one. It will evolve over a period of time. I'm not optimistic about that as well. What Stephanie Pollack commented on in her question, I think, really was the precursor, if you will, to this voting power, these concentrations of voting power in suburban communities.

We have built such a cheap network of highways that allow people to commute with such facility that it becomes easier, more attractive, more amenable to buying a house in the subdivision with a lawn rather than living in a three decker in Dorchester or South Boston or East Boston. That is just a fact of modern-day life here in America and here in Massachusetts that we'll continue to grapple with. I just don't know, and I apologize for being so inarticulate in my answer. I guess you're really asking me to look into the future and make a prediction or a projection, of which I'm extremely uncertain and, as I say, somewhat pessimistic. Thank you.

IAN MENZIES: Please, could we thank the Chairman for that wonderful, free-flowing presentation--

[Applause]

--in which he left no uncertainty, at least on a couple of subjects. Thank you very much.

Kathleen Foley, is it possible to bring the following panel up--Mayor Menino and his panelists? And while we're doing that I would like to take a minute to recognize some members off the General Court who have joined us: Representative Barbara Gardner, who is a Democrat from Holliston, and Representative Maryann Lewis from Dedham, and

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Paul Demakis, who is from the Back Bay; also someone who already has stood up-- Councilor Peter Colson from Quincy. And we have with us also the Boston Fire Chief, Kevin McCurtain, and the Boston Fire Commissioner, Martin Pierce. Also we have Jerry Burke, who is President of Massasoit Community College, and two UMass Boston trustees, who we're very pleased to announce; William E. Giblin and Bob Haynes. The Mayor of Newburyport is also here, Lisa L. Mead.

And I just wanted to mention a couple of stalwart supporters: Robert Sturgis, former President of the Boston Society of Architects, and Marcy Crowley, who is a selectman from Wayland, and two selectmen from my home town of Hingham, Kathy Reardon and Iris Daigle, and Gordon Abbot Jr. of the Center for Rural Massachusetts.

IAN MENZIES: Are the panelists for the session, Al Lupo, Geoff Beckwith and Hubie Jones ready? They're a very shy group, I guess. Hubie, join us.

Well, while they're coming up, as I mentioned in my opening remarks, one of the still unfulfilled challenges facing Greater Boston communities is the need to share, to cooperate, to plan together

Back in 1912 Governor Eugene Foss proposed, quote, "a political union of 41 cities and towns within the Metropolitan area." In 1930 Mayor Curley proposed a federation of 43 cities and towns within a 15-mile radius of Boston. The reaction, according to Jack Beatty's book on Curley, ranged from amusement to panic.

In the intervening years there have been a half dozen other similar type proposals, from Boston College, from Harvard, the Boston Chamber of Commerce, the MAPC, Lieutenant Governor Evelyn Murphy and the Sargent administration. They have come to naught. Mayor Menino has just taken an important initiative. He has asked the

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Legislature to form a commission to, and note the words, "investigate inter-municipal cooperative opportunities in the Greater Boston area."

There is a careful avoidance of inflammatory words like "metro government," "union," or even "federation." And in this, I believe, there is great wisdom. He will speak about his thoughts on municipal sharing and our noted panel of writers and commentators will look at it from a suburban view, a minority view and just a plain people view.

We, here, are proud of Mayor Menino, an alumnus of this university, a hands on mayor, who understands what living in a city is about and what is needed to improve the lives of those who struggle daily to get by. Mayor Thomas Menino. [applause]

THOMAS MENINO: Thank you, Ian. My distinguished panelists be good to me today, will you? [laughter] I've had a hard two weeks. That's the chore of being a mayor. Let me just also thank the McCormack Institute, the 1000 Friends of Massachusetts and the American Planning Association. Mass. Chapter.

It's a great pleasure to be here this morning to talk about the Boston of today and to explore where we are headed in the future. So many of the changes I see for the future have already begun or are beginning right now. In government, we have the unique task of planning the future everyday. It will be our ability to define the challenges of the future that will establish our legacy as the leaders of today.

Boston is ready for the future but we have so many things to do in so many areas. City government itself will undergo significant transformation between today and the year 2005, the seeds of which have already been planted. City Hall will become a symbol hall as half of the households and businesses located in Boston will be online with local government.

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BosNet, the City's bulletin board, will become interactive. With people from throughout the city, conducting transactions with city departments, whether downloading birth certificates, paying their parking tickets or registering to vote right from their homes or their offices.

Technology is more available to the work force of the city. City departments are already studying the installation of vehicle location systems to keep track of the city's vehicle fleet. Hand-held computers for laborers will increase accountability and make the work force more efficient. It's also likely that technology improvements will make our work force smaller and more skilled.

When we look back from the year 2005, it will be evident that our efforts to regionalize government services in the 1990's resulted in the area's first annexation movement in over a century. As a result of the work of a special commission on regionalization, we'll have largely broken down the historic barriers that prevented past cooperation and in light of funding cuts in the Contract with America or is that a Contract on America, along with the likely termination of the tax exempt status of municipal bonds, cities and towns will have realized that their survival and the preservation of critical services can only be insured by sharing services and cutting out unnecessary waste.

2005 will see us still working together. Collaborations like tri city fire departments, and the creation of the Suffolk County Emergency Medical District, will show that quality services can be delivered at lower cost. Public satisfaction with regionalization will create what I call the Boston Tomorrow Committee, which will look to expand the borders of the City of Boston to include adjoining communities.

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In the year 2005 we'll all witness the flourishing of the old Boston City Hospital. By that time it will stand as one of the country's major medical centers and public health institutes. With the controversy of the initial merger in 1995 gone, the new medical center will continue to undergo expansion through mergers with other hospitals throughout the Greater Boston area. This new healthcare system will correctly prove the vision of its planners who a decade earlier saw the merging of a public and private hospital as the best of all worlds: Private sector management of a hospital system that truly embodied the public mission of insuring quality medical care for anyone, regardless of their ability to pay.

With the approval of the State Legislature, the new hospital complex will be the center of a healthcare improvement district, with unique state and local special tax status. It will attract healthcare investment from around the nation and the world. We will look for a partnership with the federal government and seek to become a preferred national trauma center training site.

We also might see the Veterans Administration relocate the last of its patients and administrators into a special area of the new medical center. We will look to secure the reputation of the new medical center as a model of cutting edge research and technology with a wealth of talent in its facilities.

Perhaps we will find the cure to HIV and sickle cell anemia right here.

The neighborhood health centers partnered with the new health care system will be located in a state of the art facility, employing top notch practitioners of urban medicine. The neighborhood health centers were the original reason for the reemergence of the old City Hospital.

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As the strongest hospital in the city, we will continue to make it stronger. Through a combination of power in the centers, and the management of the new hospital, judicious capital investment in the centers and the creation of a new healthcare plan for Bostonians, the hospital of James Michael Curley will be given a new lease on life.

We will also look to make health care accessible to any legal resident of Boston, with a Boston Health First card, attained when a person registers to vote or picks up a neighborhood parking sticker. Any uninsured person and his or her uninsured family member will receive free healthcare at our new healthcare system. Being a Boston resident, will be good for your health.

As for Boston's fiscal and economic characteristics in the year 2005, I'd like to address how the City will look, what the economy will be like, and how the people in our neighborhoods can expect to live.

I see new life coming to downtown Boston with both residential and commercial development. I see Tremont Street revitalized and active because of Suffolk Law School on one end and Emerson College on the other.

I see the same rebirth happening on Washington Street. With a serious developer taking over LaFayette Mall, with the mistakes of the past in mind, it will become one of the city's most successful shopping malls, together with Filene's and Jordan's both moving forward with renovations, there will be a new life to Washington Street.

2005 will see the Combat Zone gone once and for all and the people of Chinatown and the people in the arts and cultural community, the people from Tufts University and the New England Medical Center working together to make the entire

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Stuart-Kneeland Street area safe and lively, an 18-hour day for the people who live there, work there and attend shows there.

With a few new office towers going up in the existing downtown area, what is even more interesting will be the expansion beyond South Station into the Fort Point Channel and Commonwealth Flats area. The new Federal Courthouse will be completed, as well as the World Trade Center. Work that we have started on the South Boston Transitway that will bring trolley service to the area and construction of office buildings and hotels in the area will be on the rise.

We also see that 2005 will witness the completion of the cleanup of Boston Harbor. A program that has spanned two decades. I see the entire harbor booming, thanks to the city and state's joint seaport economic development study.

Boston, once again, will become an international port-of-call for cargo and cruise ships. The National Park Service will help us turn our natural and historic treasures from the waterfront to the islands to a spectacular park to be enjoyed by the entire nation.

The whole waterfront will enjoy a mix of industrial, office, residential and recreational uses that will make everyone feel that the harbor belongs to them. The waterfront area in South Boston will see the rebirth of the fishing, lobster and shell fishing industries between the pier area thriving like yesterday but with the technology of tomorrow.

As far as the economy goes, I see the City hanging on to its present financial high tech jobs. But the biggest news is that the city will become the hottest tourist and business center in the country. We can expect to be such a popular destination because by the year 2000, we will have a state-of-the-arts convention center, we hope. My crystal

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ball is not able to predict whether the convention center will stand alone or be part of a megaplex, but I can tell you it will be built in such a way and on such a site that it works best for the City and for the people who use it.

With a new convention center we will be able to accommodate all of the people who have wanted to come to the city in the past but whom we didn't have the room for. The convention center will spark construction of new hotels, boost old retail districts and promote the development of new ones.

I see tour buses running all over the city, the Freedom Trail packed, the harbor walk and esplanade full of people, and restaurants doing as much business as they can.

Out in the neighborhoods I see people feeling lucky to be living in the city and glad they stayed. I see neighborhood business districts hopping like they used to when I was a kid. I see the effects of the city's Main Street program being felt in every neighborhood. Boston was the only Main Street program in the country that went city-wide. Main Streets will be the key to bringing back pride to our neighborhoods.

There will be not only new stores but also new signs on old ones. There will be shuttle buses bringing people to shops and plenty of free parking, giving shoppers the option of going downtown or down to the corner store. I also see the main streets of the city being spruced up, thanks to millions of dollars we will have spent on Boulevard Programs.

I see all the stores on Blue Hill Avenue rented, from Grove Hall to Mattapan Square. And I see the same future for Dorchester Avenue, Brighton Avenue, Hyde Park Avenue, and all of the Washington Streets in our neighborhoods. In 2005 Boston will be a bigger city in some ways. But more importantly, it will be a better city with the

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foundations of growth that are within our grasp today. But we must take advantage of the opportunities in business, medicine, education, tourism and development that are available to us now.

Vision and cooperation will help, but we will only succeed with hard work and determination. The thing I find most intriguing about public service is the ability to be positive, to bring positive change to people's lives. Our hard knocks today will result in positive change for the people of this great city for years to come.

One issue I didn't mention in this whole talk was the diversity of Boston, how we deal with that. And that's the most important issue we could deal with as we go along and try to improve the infrastructure of our city, try to improve the business climate of our city. Boston is a new city. It's a different city from when I became a City Councilor about 12 year ago. The neighborhoods of our city are more diverse. How do we integrate these individuals into the mainstream of Boston? That's the challenge we really face.

As Mayor of this city, that is one of the goals we have set, making sure that the diversity of Boston fits into the future of Boston. If you look at certain neighborhoods of our city--look at Dorchester Avenue, Vietnamese; look at Allston-Brighton, Brazilians; Jamaica Plain, they have the Latino community; Mattapan, the Haitian community.

It's important for -- really it's important for all of us out here that we get them involved on Main Street. And how do we do that? Give them job opportunities. What we've done in Boston to help those individuals, we've put English as a second language on our municipal channel, so that they can at least converse with people in the neighborhoods. That helps to get a job.

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My grandfather came here many years ago. He didn't speak any English. But he didn't have to then. He got a pick and shovel and went to work. Today it's much different. You have to be able to speak the English language.

When you go into a classroom and 12 languages are spoken in that classroom, how is that teacher going to teach all those children? That's why we are working in our city on a family learning center that will deal with the issue of the complete family--not just the educational component, but what happens to that child before school and after school. That's important.

We can never ever not face the fact of how diverse our City is. We have to make sure that's one of our top priorities as we go forward and the City changes, because if we don't deal with the diversity of our City, we don't deal with the City.

Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

IAN MENZIES: That was really a glowing picture. And I think that's what we all are hoping for. The trick is, of course, how one implements it.

Many of you know our next speaker, have seen him at conferences or on Channel 5's TV program *Five On Five*. Hubie Jones, former dean of the School of Social Work at BU, now a senior fellow here at the McCormack Institute, is like a perpetual motion machine with a smile and a hello. One minute he's speaking at some meeting, the next contributing advice at a board meeting, or again serving as a consultant to a Ford Foundation committee, or selecting an applicant for a fellowship or on a special committee to combat racism. Hubie is Hubie to thousands of Bostonians, the man to go to find out the human side of racism, welfare and the state of black Boston.

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Hubert E. "Hubie" Jones.

[Applause.]

HUBIE JONES: Good morning. Good morning. You are alive and well?

[Laughter.]

Usually it is only one time during the year that I have the opportunity to publicly embarrass myself by predicting the future. That occurs at the end of December every year when the *Five On Five* (Channel 5 TV) panel makes predictions about news events for the year ahead. I engage in that exercise with such an air of authority and certitude that I even convince myself that I am a brilliant prognosticator. Avi Nelson isn't convinced, but that's his failing. This morning I get an extra chance to get it right and hopefully redeem myself. We'll see. Here goes my predictions concerning Boston's future.

There are some things we know for sure about the decade that lies ahead. First of all, significant demographic changes in Boston's resident population will have a profound effect on social and political life here. The Latino population, which now stands at 10.4%, will likely double in size by 2005. Consequently, Latino students will be the largest segment of the school census, with enormous implications for curricula, personnel and school organization. The potential for competition and conflict among and between the dominant users of the public schools--African-Americans, Latinos, Asians, Haitians and Southeast Asian refugees--could be fierce, counterproductive and downright ugly. The new Boston school superintendent to be appointed shortly must have consummate political and intergroup relations skills if healthy transactions between these constituents and collaborative work is to transpire. Without such an educational leader, the Boston schools will come apart at the seams.

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In fact, the future politics of Boston will be advanced or retarded by "political" developments in the school system. It is in this critical institution, with its presence in every neighborhood, that residents will work out or not work out the sharing of leadership, assets and resources. If rational power sharing fails in this arena, then the consequences for the politics of the City will be disastrous. The coming of the right educational leader for the Boston public schools is not only critical for educational transformation, but also for the future political health of Boston.

This is true because residents of color will be the dominant population by the year 2005. This base now stands at 40.1%. It could be 60% and above in a decade, making political empowerment for minorities in terms of the governance of the City a serious possibility. We know from the evolution of electoral politics in other U.S. cities that when voters of color become a critical mass that their hope rises and their voter registration and voting increases in response to the higher probability of winning political offices.

By 2005 or shortly beyond, a person of color will be Mayor of Boston. However, the lessons learned in New York City, Chicago and Philadelphia, to name a few relevant cities, reveal that a hold on the Mayor's office cannot be sustained if the voter base becomes fractured and allowed to fall apart. Leadership of color here must understand that the political base must be built carefully through solid alliances and collaborative work that can withstand assaults in the heat of electoral battles. Therefore, it is not the coming of extraordinary political leaders that we should crave. The case of the late Harold Washington in Chicago should be instructive in this regard. The leader dies or retires and the political base can easily wither. The challenge for minority leaders and their

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white allies is to seize the demographic opportunity at hand and begin building political institutional structures and alliances that will last well into the 21st century. Suffice it to say, Boston's electoral politics is on the verge of major transformation.

I see in our future, a mass media that facilitates public conversations with their readers and viewers on important social issues far superior to current talk radio. (I trust that this is not an illusion.) This progress will meet the desperate need for public conversations on critical public matters that are elevated far above the usual political noise that divides us and distracts us from essential democratic work. The current Tower of Babel fostered by the mass media generates public discourse that does irreparable harm to our collective civic life. In the coming months, *The Boston Globe* is going to experiment with using its pages in new ways to stimulate public conversations in the region on social issues and trends that we must face together as we move toward the 21st century. Hopefully, other print and electronic media will follow *The Globe's* leadership in this area. This action feeds my illusions. We can no longer tolerate the political wrangling that substitutes for civil dialogue if this is truly to be a Commonwealth with enlightened governance.

Boston was saved from being an economic backwater in the 1950's and the 1960's by the vision and investments of corporate Boston--The Vault--in alliance with city government, resulting in the rebuilding of the commercial core of the City. The relatively new City Hall and the gleaming towers stand as testament to the progress achieved. The commercial core, in my judgment, is now overbuilt, with towers blocking the seascape, creating windy caverns and straining the underground infrastructure.

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The building of the New Boston in the 21st century should be in the corridors and thoroughfares which radiate from downtown and wind through the neighborhoods of the City. Blue Hill Avenue, the Southwest Corridor and Washington Street, (devoid of the elevated structure), are new opportunity corridors for future economic growth and social development.

The making of the Southwest Corridor through the South End, Roxbury and Jamaica Plain is well on the way to becoming what I call the "Golden Corridor," as a result of impressive development projects alongside the Orange Line, a critical new transportation spine. The new Track and Athletic Center at Roxbury Community College, new facilities at Dimmock Community Health Center and the Registry building at Ruggles Center are some of the latest assets to come on line. By 2005, the Southwest Corridor will have many more developments which will create businesses, jobs and enhanced social institutions.

The fate of Blue Hill Avenue and Washington Street are in the hands of Mayor Menino and corporate and civic leaders. Washington Street could become a grand boulevard from the New England Medical Center to Dudley Street and beyond. The rebuilding of Blue Hill Avenue is the key to small business development and the social health of Roxbury and Mattapan

The business community has big choices to make, particular our new big bank, Fleet. It can seek opportunities elsewhere, beyond these thoroughfares, even around the country and around the globe Or it can join state and city government by investing here. A private public partnership with big-time innovative planning should be launched, otherwise, in the year 2005 these thoroughfares will represent opportunities lost.

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A vibrant future for Boston will be primarily secured by civic investments in the city's social infrastructure--networks of organizations that deal with unemployment, homelessness, health care, education, youth development and cultural needs. The future of many crucial service organizations in the neighborhoods is in question. The current fragility of these organizations threatens the viability of these neighborhoods. It is safe to predict that many community-based service organizations will be merged or consolidated over the next ten years. Increased dependence on private funding will drive greater efficiencies and larger organizational entities. The management mania to do more with less, unleashed by the for-profit sector in the 1980's and the 1990's, will have fully taken hold in the non-profit sector by the year 2005.

What we are seeing in the hospital arena in Boston in terms of mergers and consolidations is just the tip of the iceberg. It is flowing also into neighborhood organizations. The jury is still out on whether mergers and consolidations at the neighborhood level are the proper "silver bullets" being sought. Whether this phenomenon will shore up the social fabric and infrastructure of our neighborhoods in productive ways is an open question. Nevertheless, mergers and consolidations will be fully evident ten years hence.

The future structure and viability of Boston's neighborhoods will be greatly influenced by the building of new schools and learning centers, which are at a beginning planning stage. Clearly, this large building program should be in sync with the new organizational configurations cited above. The cold truth is that a sensible school building program awaits the formulation of 21st century curricula and educational program for the schools, which does not now exist.

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Critical to social reconstruction of Boston is the transformation of public housing. Without progress here, our hopes will be stillborn. Public housing represents 10 percent of the city's housing stock, serving the very poor. Public housing projects also have an impact on their surrounding environments. Commonwealth Development in Brighton demonstrates how a project can be transformed into wonderful housing and a real viable community.

Too many miserable public housing developments in Boston now exist. They are a threat to social livability in the city. And, of course, what the federal government will or will not do in terms of making investments here is the big question. Thirty-five percent of the students who attend the Boston Public Schools live in public housing. We will not see a transformation of public education in Boston in the next ten years unless a major working relationship between public housing and public schools is fashioned. No such linkage now exists. If this condition does not radically change, we can kiss off the public schools here. Consequently, we could look up in the year 2005 and find charter schools roaring ahead, totally redefining the concept of public education, and probably at our peril.

Finally, the information/technology revolution, which is galloping ahead, will shape a new service economy requiring certain computational, computer and critical thinking abilities for employment. The chances are high that hundreds upon hundreds of Boston's youth will be consigned to economic serf and social oblivion because they are ill equipped for the world of work in the 21st century.

The explosive consequences of this condition are too horrible to contemplate. The social fabric of the City will be at risk and the important tourist economy here will be

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placed in great jeopardy, even with a new convention center and more malls coming on line. The growing specter of alienated youth and young adults looking in on the prosperity and good fortune of others is not a good civic condition. It is tragic and destructive.

It is for this reason that I have focused my remarks on social reconstruction of Boston. Physical reconstruction will not save Boston. That cycle is over. Boston's economic life was saved by physical renaissance. Boston's viability and Boston's life and future will be secured and saved by a social reconstruction program that deals with the needs, the desperate needs, of people in our neighborhoods. The engine of the Boston region will be sputtering and clanking ten years hence, if we do not collectively address the conditions of institutional racism, poverty and social collapse that holds the future of this great City in their grip.

Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

IAN MENZIES: We are trying to cover the waterfront. So now I'd like to have us take a little trip to suburbia and find out where its hopes and problems lie. Geoffrey Beckwith is the Executive Director of the Mass. Municipal Association, the organization that represents the interests of Massachusetts cities and towns before our state and federal governments. The MMA also provides direct programs and services to Bay State municipalities, while informing the general public of local government concerns. Geoff was a member of the Mass. House of Representatives from Reading from 1985 through 1990. He was named Environmental Legislator of the Year in 1989, having been the chief sponsor of a law to reduce industry's use of toxic chemicals, legislation cited by the

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National Center for Policy Alternatives as one of the best environmental laws in the country. A magna cum laude graduate of Boston College, he was a visiting scholar at the Harvard School of Public Health from 1989 to 1992, when he joined MMA.

Geoffrey C. Beckwith.

[Applause.]

GEOFFREY BECKWITH: Thank you very much, Ian. It certainly is a pleasure to be here, and we appreciate the invitation of the McCormack Institute, and also of 1000 Friends and the Mass. Chapter of the American Planning Association for co-sponsoring this event. And to serve on a panel with such distinguished individuals and with Mayor Menino, who provides extraordinary leadership, is a great pleasure.

I am going to stray a little from talking about some of the specific issues that need to be addressed from the policy point of view, and talk a little bit about structural questions, about how government will be, or should be, or could be formed in the future.

These governance issues are central to assisting communities as they begin to deal with the very serious challenges of the transition, and we hope it's a transition, to and through the next decade. Because, if there's not a transition away from the current dynamic, we will see the current trends just deepen, essentially seeing an even greater disconnection with government at all levels between government and citizens, and seeing scarce resources become even more scarce, and seriously threaten the fundamental underpinning, the infrastructure of government's capacity to deliver basic services to the taxpayers and residents of the Commonwealth.

Obviously we all know about the disconnection, the alienation or the deepening of what had been a healthy skepticism for government that's built into our framework, our

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political culture, into a very, very disturbing level of cynicism, in part probably brought upon by the focus on the moment, the snapshot, the instant, that many of the speakers this morning have addressed in terms of our, as a society, difficulty in being able to look ahead and look down the road.

Paying attention to the moment, focusing on the question of the day--the question of the day, of course, doesn't have to be any of these things. The question of the day is: Will he be convicted and is he guilty? If you just look at the amount of attention being paid to the Trial, capital T, capital T, the Trial of this century, we see that this should be the most important thing facing our country, because it's getting the most space, it's getting the most air time, it is covered in live action shots from the front of Stone Courthouse, talking about Kato Kaelin's testimony or his career as an actor in the future.

But many of these fundamental questions about how we are going to be organized as a society, which are probably much more abiding in terms of their interest to the citizens of this country, of this state, of this region, remain somewhat unaddressed by the media and by those who are talking about the issues of the day.

So this is a wonderful opportunity to step back a little bit and focus on some of these major trends. The major trend, of course, is that citizens have become not just un-restful, but angry about their government.

Now, I want to add some words about how this seems to fall in rank order. It seems to fall most heavily on the federal government, next on state governments and regional governments in other parts of the country where there are regional governments. There aren't really too many except a couple that were formed to deal just with some high profile questions.

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And then we get to the local level, where the support for government seems to be relatively healthy from its citizens, those who are actively engaged in not only the elections, but the participation and the discussion about what is going on and what the local priorities are.

The trouble, though, is that the tidal wave of skepticism that is washing our political system will, sooner or later, if not checked, begin to creep in I think very disturbing ways to impact local government as well. So we must deal with the question of citizens and their relationship with government, because otherwise we will be trying to set policies that will not be supported by the citizens, because citizens will be not involved in that process.

Resources is another major question. Resources are getting more scarce with every passing day. The federal government's idea of resource allocation, of course, has been to reduce the allocation of resources in a couple of significant ways: one, is to take money away from Mayor Menino, to take money away from the officials who run, administer and lead communities all throughout Massachusetts. And to say, keep on doing the job. However, you're not going to be getting as much in terms of federal aid.

So what will happen is the reduced level of aid to cities and towns, but also an increased demand of services that need to be provided to citizens. Cities and towns will be doing their best to try and step in and fill that service gap.

At the state level, of course, we're already seeing the impact. The State's budget leaders and the Legislature are today considering whether or not they will be able to maintain prior commitments that were made to communities and to taxpayers and to schoolchildren. Very difficult issues at the State House, questions of whether or not

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priorities can be set, whether or not funding decisions can be made that disperse revenue, disperse taxes, not just among the state policy and service needs, but also to other levels of government, local levels of government. This is really ultimately about power when you think about it.

Will one level of government give up some of its level of authority and give that power, the power of the budget, the power of money, the power of services, the power of programs to another level of actors and players. Ultimately, it's really about power within the federalist system that we have, state, local and federal officials.

The impending question, then, is how can these trends be reversed? We need to establish a system of governance that relies much more on partnerships.

Now I'm talking specifically about cities and towns and at the local level. Partnerships in two ways: Partnerships with citizens, partnerships with citizens in the broadest sense of the term, not just individuals and service recipients, but also partnerships with business groups, with civic groups, with the community interests, within and beyond the boundaries of individual towns and cities.

The process of governance needs to be much more inclusive. Citizens today know more about their local governments because of cable television. They participate less because they get to watch it on TV. They don't have to walk down or drive down or go down to the Town Hall or the City Hall to find out what's happening and thus become more directly a part of what is happening.

It's not just awareness. It's involvement or participation. It involves local officials giving up a little bit of power in the sense of forming collaborative partnerships and establishing a collaborative vision for the future, but ultimately, there's much greater

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power in having that kind of a vibrant local partnership. It's one way to begin to bridge that gap, that political gap that's been created in our country.

The next, of course, is to involve and engage in partnerships across the boundaries of communities. To understand that this country, if we had been formed from west to east, New England would be a National Park. We would have a seaport-based economy, a lot of open space and we would probably have very strong counties, the way they have out in the western part of this country, where there would be a lot more regional collaboration.

Now, I do want to say that the vision that has been approached in terms of cooperating regionally should be one that's based on collaboration. It should be one that's based on dynamic partnerships between communities not the creation of other levels of government that would then dictate to local officials, city and town leaders. We must understand that communities can retain their independence but recognize an interdependence, that is the way that we must go.

Now, Mayor Menino is a leader for his time, for our time, in that just this month or the end of last month, he convened a meeting that had 50 communities in the Greater Boston area represented to talk about regional collaborative partnerships. Understanding with a mutual respect for each other, the City of Boston and communities in the Greater Boston area must work together to deliver basic services to the citizens, residents, taxpayers and non taxpayers of this area, of this region.

And that type of experiment must be worked at by all parties, those who are from the City of Boston and surrounding communities nearby, so that we can have a truly synergistic relationship. When you boil it down, providing services at the most efficient

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and effective manner possible to the residents of a community is the basic mission of a local government.

To then say, well, we all inspect public buildings, we all provide police and fire services, we all provide public education, perhaps a tougher nut to crack in terms of regional delivery, we all provide a lot of basic programs and services and certainly the system could be more efficient and more effective.

By this type of collaboration, we would have in ten years a governmental system, a relationship, that could do many things very well, and be able to offset what would be a very negative output in terms of delivery of services, given the decisions being made at the state and federal level.

In terms of the economy, we're not a command and control economy in this country. The decisions made in Washington really are not the most effective and efficient way to guide our economy. We are a system of local economies, a Common Market, all throughout this country. The City of Boston, the City of Boston will survive economically if and when its neighbors understand that it is important to have a healthy city, with healthy residents there, as the center of the economic region, but also to understand, and for the City of Boston to know, of course, that there are many other factors and players in this area. For example, Route 128 is a major center of this local economic region. All must strive together, all must work together and seeing this common interest, this self-interest really, is a way in which communities can organize in a more dynamic and compatible way, I think, for building a brighter future.

It's about connecting with citizens. It's about connecting with each other. It's about building partnerships that are respectful. It's about understanding, of course, that at

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the local level, towns and cities are their own best friends and if they cooperate, they will always be not just their best friends but their best partners. I hope there's time for a little bit of discussion after the final presentation here but we should take a look at this as an opportunity, not a threat. We should take a look at cooperation as a way to better serve the residents, the citizens and the taxpayers of this state.

We should take a look at it in a way where communities don't give up power. Communities are rather investing in a way in which they'll be able to maintain more power in meeting the needs and in building a brighter and stronger future for our communities in the decade ahead. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

IAN MENZIES: I'm a great admirer of Alan Lupo, *Boston Globe* columnist, author, Radio-TV personality and a very human, human being. One of a fading media breed who understands city life and the struggles of its poorer families but who sees the inherent goodness. I also admire Al's wife, Carol Rivers, author, journalist and professor at BU even though she's not speaking here today.

But it comes very naturally too that their son is a police officer and their daughter an actress. I've often thought that it is only Al's sense of humor that overcomes his frustration with the media's indifferent coverage of urban affairs and especially its struggling families. Born in Winthrop and a UMass Amherst graduate, Al Lupo, as a chronicler of this city and its people, is the best of Boston. Alan Lupo.

[Applause.]

ALAN LUPO: There's a note that says five more minutes. Is that for me? I just got here. [laughter] Yeah. He's a great guy give him five minutes. [laughter] You'll wish

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my wife were here; she's cogent. [laughter] I've been rewriting this speech with every speaker. I'm writing "Yeah." "No." "Maybe he is right."

If I could make decisions, I'd be a leader instead of a journalist. [laughter] I don't share everyone's rosy outlook. In fact, they don't even share it. They couched it in proper terms.

I'm thinking that nothing has really changed much. Oh, by the way I have to say one other thing. I'm sorry. Tom (Mayor Menino), I really hope the birth certificates will come on line and I want to tell you why [laughter].

Two administrations ago, so I can't blame Tom, I went to get a birth certificate. I was born in Boston actually and moved to Winthrop in 1939 because in Roxbury they didn't want us there so we moved to a place with lower income [laughter]. It was Winthrop--they didn't want us there either but we could move only so many times.

The point is, I went to get a birth certificate two administrations ago and they said there's no birth certificate here. I said, "Well I was born May 4, 1938. I forget what hospital. Floating Hospital." They said, "There's no Alan Lupo here." This confirmed many suspicions my editors had. [laughter] And I said--at the time I was about 40-something--I said, "I'm sure I'm Al Lupo, I've just checked my driver's license but I don't want to be pushy, I'll go home and call my mother." I was in City Hall so I went up to the Press Room and I called my mother, may she rest in peace, and I said, "Are you sure I'm Alan?" And she says, "Now what are you talking about?" I told her the story and she said, "You're Alan. I know you're Alan. Put me on the phone with these people. You're not Harry, you're not Irving, you're Alan because I was there."

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Well, Tom, it didn't convince them. The folks down there wouldn't believe even my mother. And for the only time, as a reporter, because you don't want to use your influence as a reporter to get favors, but I was so frustrated I went and saw somebody I knew in the administration, he walked me through the department and they actually put me on the right certificate and I am indeed who I think I am. I guess what I'm saying is I'm really excited that it'll be on line but like everything else with computers and everything else in this new confusing technological society of ours, it's going to depend on the quality of what goes in there.

And quality is what we're talking about today. And I am not optimistic. I'm not optimistic given our history and I'm not optimistic given what's going on in the Nation's Capital which is pretending that it doesn't want to be the Nation's Capital.

The engine that has driven progress in this country for more years than we would like to imagine has been the federal government. When they were building railroads and they needed protection from what they thought were dangers, it was the U.S. Cavalry, it wasn't the Minnesota Cavalry or the Town of Chicopee Cavalry.

[Laughter.]

When they wanted an interstate highway system, the federal government was there with 90 percent of the cost. When fellows and women came back from World War II, and they needed an education in order to put this country where it is today, the federal government made GI loans available for housing and education.

Now we are going to experiment apparently without a federal government. We're going to let the locals and the states do it. Well, Lord knows there's as much corruption and confusion and inefficiency at these levels of government as there is at the

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federal level of government. There is as much of that at any level of government as there is in the much vaunted private sector. We are all, after all, human beings and we reflect our own frailties and it's silly to pretend that one bunch of us is better than any other bunch of us.

Now the history. Nothing has changed much in about a hundred years since my fellow townsmen in Winthrop objected to a proposed railway line because they feared it would bring Winthrop closer to the North End. [laughter] And if you think that's dead, listen to the Selectmen debate in Framingham as two candidates discuss who's tougher on poor folk.

But as other nations on this planet move solidly forward to deal with our real challenges in the New World Economic Order, we, here in America, are debating prayer in schools, family values, affirmative action and term limits. As if dealing with these issues will bring us any closer to some kind of economic priorities, which we all know we need.

Now, for the prepared text, [laughter] this is where I don't look at you because I don't know how to do this, I get dizzy.

[Laughter.]

In March of 1899, close to the eve of the new century, architects working with the City of Boston, reported on tenements in the North and West Ends. This is a quote, "Dirty and battered walls and ceilings, dark cellars with water standing in them, alleys littered with garbage and filth, broken and leaking drainpipes, dark and filthy water closets, long frozen or otherwise out of order. And houses so dilapidated and so much settled that they are dangerous."

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We don't use water closets much any more but you could take that description and find its clones one century later in a fair number of Massachusetts communities. Century or no century some things don't change much. To belabor the obvious, some things, of course, have changed, but change, as we know, is good and bad.

The improvements to Boston's Waterfront, essentially are good. The removal of Boston's two most integrated neighborhoods -- the West End and the New York Streets section of the South End -- was bad.

Change, as we all know, is also inevitable. The North End, was once a Yankee neighborhood. Paul Revere, Sons of Liberty, all that. It was once an Irish neighborhood. It was once a Jewish neighborhood. It is today an Italian neighborhood more in image than in reality.

The invitation I received said, "Presumably what we are doing today will signpost what life will be like in the year 2005," and that's true enough. I would add: What we are not doing today will have even more effect on the next century. We are a nation of common sense deferred and, therefore, too often, dreams denied.

For how many years did my colleague, Ian Menzies, plead that we use our most natural transportation system -- the water. We have some ferry boats, but even today, we hardly use them.

Look at the recent *Globe* story by a correspondent, John Laidler, on the proposed North Shore rail line. In early 1980, David Pelletier called for electrified rail cars. His idea was dismissed, if not ridiculed. It made sense then, it probably makes sense now.

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Look at the attempts in Washington to cut social services and crime prevention aspects of the criminal justice law that was signed only last year. Once again, it is common sense as much as compassion that dictates that one cannot successfully fight crime with just sticks, that carrots are crucial to the mix. But never have we ever funded enough street workers, social workers, psychologists, probation officers, teachers' aides to help build those family values we all crow about these days.

Is there any reason to expect that we shall not continue to defer?

A favorite feature in my local weekly newspaper in Winthrop is its a look backward over the century. Every once in a while, from 1895 or 1905 or 1915, there's a paragraph about how town meetings or townspeople in general did not fund one improvement or another because it would cost too much in taxes. And in that same town, this same state, this same nation, I hear that refrain over and over again.

Very little will change in the next decade barring some unforeseen crisis, such as a war or a depression, because of that tendency toward apathy and our grand tradition of never making any historic connections. Add to that the diminished attention span, the tabloid media, the fear by the establishment media that nobody cares anymore about government anyway; factor in our failure to address issues of race and class; throw in an unchanged political environment, in which candidates and office holders fear to tell constituents the truth about what a better life will cost; and, finally, juxtapose this strange and confusing new word economic order replete with all its instability for even the educated workers, and you, at the very least, do not have a vastly different landscape.

And, my friends, you can build a megaplex in every American metropolitan area, or just in this one alone, and it will not make a damn bit of difference.

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So as usual, we shall measure change in smaller increments, and even then, we'll I not know for sure whether it's particularly good or bad.

The North End, for example. Is it good or bad that an ethnically unidentifiable mix of residents has been replacing Italians since the late 1960s? Certainly many of them have more money and add to local business coffers. But, God forbid, should some heavy street crime activity come to the North End, where are the guys who will pour out of the tenements and put a fast stop to it? [laughter] That's right. It's called the balance of terror. It works internationally and it works locally. Kissinger thought he invented that.

The South End, for example. Is it good or bad that an ethnically unidentifiable mix has replaced the Lebanese, Syrians, African-Americans and to some degree, Latinos, who once found affordable housing there? Certainly those who have moved in since the late 1960s have paid good taxes and thrown themselves into the body politic in the most healthful and constructive way. But were I black or Lebanese, I might surprise you with stories of how we too had real neighborhoods that lent their color and poetry to the fabric of the city.

In my town, Winthrop, blacks and other minorities are slowly settling in. Before that became evident, however, the school system was clearly in trouble. It most certainly needs money. And without it, the schools could deteriorate. If and when they do, guess who will be blamed? The white citizens whose kids predominate in the schools and who resisted taxes? Or the newcomers? Unplanned change can produce convenient scapegoats.

For better or for worse, this is a different town, a much different state than the one into which I was born in 1938 and grew to adulthood in the 40s and 50s.

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Then, we were parochial, hidebound and insular. Oh, there was fire and poetry, as long as you stayed in your own turf. By the time I was an adolescent, I could talk in Jewish, Italian and Irish accents. Blacks existed, but we rarely saw them. Latinos? Never heard of them. The letter "R?" We used it only when we recited the alphabet posted above the blackboard -- not the green board, but the blackboard.

I was a copy boy at the *Boston Sunday Advertiser*. Ever hear of it? It is dead, so is the *Record*, the *American*, the *Transcript*, the *Traveler* and the *Evening Globe*.

I was a stockboy at R. H. White's. It's gone. So is Gilchrist's. So is Raymond's. So is Kennedy's. So are so many of the structural and economic landmarks of the past.

I used to celebrate Passover in my uncle's apartment in a three-decker on Wellington Hill Street in Mattapan. Boston's Jewish district is but a memory.

I would lie if I told you I don't miss aspects of that world. After all, I grew up in it. And even with its inbred distrust and paranoia, it was of some comfort. But I prefer this world. It is more sophisticated. It is more diverse. It is more open-minded.

So I must end on an optimistic note. We have come too far to only stand still. We have gone through too much fire to insanely wish that we should pass through it again. In the old Boston, the old Massachusetts, you could not dispense birth control information in a drugstore; you could not discuss the realities of spousal and child abuse in neighborhoods; there were certain books you weren't allowed to buy; you could not easily challenge the authority of clergy or private sector moguls or political leaders.

For all its insecurity, this is a better world, but if we do not begin to deal with the root causes of that insecurity, we shall face not only a dismal economic future -- with all the social problems that accompany same -- but quite possibly the diminishing of the

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democracy to a tune called by mass marketed talk shows and to an end that promises a scary measure of anarchy.

[Applause.]

IAN MENZIES: Thank you. Al, you never disappoint me.

I think two things: We'll take our questions. We are running a little over and so please on your questions, quick identification and quick question.

DAVID SOULE: My name is David Soule.

I'm the Executive Director of the Metropolitan Planning Council, and I just want to thank the McCormack Institute and the panel this morning for stirring up what I think is the most exciting kind of debate that we can have. What I am concerned about is that none of you have talked about the fundamental underlying sense of metropolitan community that will have to start this discussion. We have no sense of the issues that really tear us apart and will bring us together, and I'm wondering how we get that fundamental framework of community so that we think as a region, as well as individual cities and towns?

IAN MENZIES Mr Mayor?

THOMAS MENINO I thought we started this discussion about a month ago on how to deal with the differences between Boston and suburban communities. The commission to study regionalism that we established has only a one-year life span and will deal with the issues that your cities and towns have problems with as well as my city.

What we do well we can share with you and what some of your cities and towns do well, we can look to you for leadership on those issues. For example, recently we signed an agreement with Chelsea on doing a study of the Chelsea Fire Department. We

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realized Boston has about 400 fire calls in Chelsea every year; our fire apparatus answers those calls.

We are looking at purchasing the health insurance issue with Chelsea, also, and how we are going to work with them. But with cities and towns around us—I think regionalization is the way to go.

IAN MENZIES: Let me just have a difference in questions just so we can cover as much ground as possible. Yes?

JULIA KETTERER: Good morning, gentlemen. My name is Julia Ketterer and I'm the Director of the Boston Network for Women in Politics and Government, which is part of the McCormack Institute's Center for Women in Politics and Public Policy.

MAYOR MENINO: There's no woman up here.

JULIA KETTERER: I hope you can still answer my question. I'd like you all to [laughter] look into your crystal ball one more time and please tell me what you see as the status of women, political and economic, being in the year 2005? Thank you.

IAN MENZIES: Who would like to take that one? Al? And the mayor will help.

[Laughter.]

AL LUPO: I'm particularly well trained on this [laughter] The old chauvinist joke was the guy who said his wife was the Speaker of the House. In my case, thank God, I have been talking about this issue with Carol Rivers and a number of other people over the years and watching the political landscape change for the better. I'm not just trying to get votes by saying this but I think we finally understand now that women by their

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upbringing seem to understand better than men how one works as a community and they seem more able and willing to sublimate ego for the sake of the common good. I know there are exceptions to this, there are exceptions to everything and there are certainly guys who know how to do it too.

If I may generalize, I think women are extraordinarily good at this. I see this kind of cooperation on a national level, in national government and I see it increasingly in local and state government and I think it bodes well for the republic that it's happening. It's a force that cannot be stopped. Fools can sit in think tanks and talk all they want about a return to a world that never was or a return to the false world of the fifties, where women were not in the work place as much as they had been before and as much as they have been since. We're not going to return to that world. We're not in that world. It wasn't a very good world. I think on this issue I'm very optimistic.

THOMAS MENINO: Yes. I'd just say that in the year 2005 women will be more prominent than they are presently. But you have to look at my administration. My chief of staff is a woman. My Chief Economic Development Officer is a woman, and that's why she's getting criticized, because the "old boy" network in the development field can't deal with a woman as the Chief Economic Development Officer of a city. And that's why you continually see these negative pieces, because she only wants to get the job done and it's tough.

It's tough. And I think, like Alan said, I'd rather deal with a woman. And I have a caucus in my administration, a male caucus, because I've hired so many women to make decisions for me over the last couple of months. But--I say that, but also with the cut-

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backs in some of the social services that are going on in the country--child care and things like that--that could be a problem in the future.

We have to make sure that we provide those services also for women to have, to make sure that as they raise a family, the child has a safe place to go, to a day care center or some other place, after school. We have to do both. The women will rise, but also we have to provide services to help them during that rise to authority.

IAN MENZIES: Because we have no questions right up front right now, and we are running around 15 minutes late, I would like at this point really to thank our panel, to take our coffee break. And, please, the panelists will be here and I think you can just go up and ask a question that you might have done in front of everybody. Let's now adjourn for a coffee break, and we'll be back quickly.

[Applause.]

[Break taken.]

IAN MENZIES I would thank our panelists very much. They have spoken here before, and most of you know them. I first would like to introduce Armando Carbonell and ask him to give a little welcome. And as you know, he heads the Cape Cod Commission, which I think is doing very well and is one of our ways of regionalizing. So I would just ask Armando to say hello, from 1,000 Friends, and whatever else he wants to add.

Armando?

[Applause.]

ARMANDO CARBONELL: Thanks very much. And it is always a pleasure to be here at the McCormack Institute at this time of year, without floods or other natural

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disasters this time. This is wonderful. I just wanted to say one or two things about 1,000 Friends. Some of our literature is at the back of the room. Nancy Greenberg, I understand, is here. Nancy, can you raise your hand and identify yourself, to me? Hi. Nancy, hello. Nancy is on our staff in Lincoln and will be available to talk to you about one or two of the things that I mention, in a minute, as I get you miraculously back on schedule by subtracting 20 minutes from real time.

The first thing I want to say is that 1,000 Friends is indeed an organization of that size; not 100 Friends as we may have heard once or twice this morning. Which is good news for many of you who are not currently members. We do have one or two memberships open within that 1,000 Friends cap. It's a ceiling; we can't go beyond it. But I assure you that we'll give every consideration to your application if you do choose to send one in, with a check.

(Laughter.)

So that's my main message today. But I also want to mention a couple of programmatic things of the organization, which was founded in 1989 to do the kind of long-range thinking that you've been hearing about this morning, and to support the kind of public and private ventures that we've been hearing about this morning.

And one is that, as sponsors of a piece of legislation for state-wide planning in the last session of the Legislature here, called "Growing Smart," you can count on hearing from us in the future on this subject, comprehensive planning at the state, regional and local level for the Commonwealth.

And also on the topic of Title 5, the new on-site waste water disposal regulations, we have been very interested in the land use and planning implications of that

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new state set of rules, and have been working state wide and will continue to, to help the communities to deal with changes under those rules. So if you have questions about that program, Nancy will be around to speak to you later.

I promised Ian I'd be incredibly brief. This is a world record. Please enjoy the rest of the program. Thank you very much. 1,000 Friends is very pleased to be able to help a little bit here. Thanks.

[Applause.]

IAN MENZIES: Thank you, Armando. Our next two speakers have, I think, a somewhat difficult task. I would hope that they can not only give us a look toward the future and the pieces we need to put in place to improve our environment by 2005, but tell us where we're at right now. Are we losing or gaining? I find all kinds of signals coming from Washington.

It seems one minute we hear about some anti-pollution measure being taken, and a short time later that it's being withdrawn or watered down, such as Governor Weld's offer on March 7 to delay a requirement that the auto industry begin selling electric cars in Massachusetts by the 1998 model year.

Also we hear that the Republican House and Senate is possibly about to rescind some of the environmental requirements that are currently in place. Perhaps I'm wrong, but these are a couple of the things that our speakers can deal with. And talking of electric cars, there's Trudy. How is it running, Trudy?

(Laughter.)

And I hope you also will perhaps straighten Governor Weld out about brooking no delays and bringing in more, if that be the case. Trudy Coxe is an inspiring person, full

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of enthusiasm and energy, which I first saw when, as Executive Director of Rhode Island Save the Bay, she built that organization up to a membership of 16,000 with a 1.1 million budget and a staff of 26, making it the most effective political force in Rhode Island. She then did a stint at the federal office of Ocean and Coastal Resource Management in Washington before taking over as Secretary here.

We know yours is not an easy job, Trudy. So much is going on at once; clean air, land fills, beach access, septic systems, hazardous waste sites and so on, even restoration of Green Bush Rail will be on your dance card. As we draw toward yet another Earth Day, tell us where we're at and what we as individuals should be doing perhaps to giving greater support to our hometown conservation commissions.

Actually Mayor Menino has just taken an invigorating step in announcing a new Make Boston Greener program, an environmental blueprint and action plan. Should we be doing something similar in every city and town across the state? In short, do we need re-energizing?

Trudy Coxé

[Applause]

TRUDY COXE Thank you very much, Ian. I'm delighted to be here. But before I get started I want to just introduce two friends to this country and to the State of Massachusetts, who are visiting from Japan. And I'd love to have them stand. Mr. Ita, from the Japan Institute, and Mr. Menabi--[Applause]--who is from the office of the governor of Hokaido and who is here for the next four days trying to learn how we are dealing with environmental problems in Massachusetts, and we're going to spend some time learning from him on how they are dealing with environmental problems in Japan.

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I'll tell you it's, I think, pretty hard to make predictions about the future and what we might look like or feel like in the year 2005. The only prediction I'm willing to make that I think will meet with a great deal of certainty and probably a lot of satisfaction for many, everybody in this audience, is that we will not have liver for lunch. Is that right? That is a prediction I'm sure will come true.

What we're doing today is an important exercise. If we don't somehow craft a vision of our future, we have no right to expect anything but an accidental future, and that's certainly something that I think all of you would agree is not the way we want to go.

Lester Brown, who is the president of the World Watch Institute, noted that, when the history of the late 20th century is written, the '90s may well be remembered as a decade of massive discontinuity. And let me talk a little bit about that to start out.

Global trends that have been rising for decades, such as seafood catch per person, or the production of CFC's, or even the use of coal, are falling. And yet other ideas that some thought would never go anywhere are now on the rise. For example, the generation of electricity from wind, or the use of compact fluorescent bulbs, something that Doug Foy was talking about 20 years ago and everybody thought he was weird, and yet today that's certainly part of everyone's household.

So why are we seeing all of this discontinuity? Ask you to ask the people who are paying ever increasing sewer rates, or ask the people who are paying ever increasing tipping fees at land fills, or ask the people who worry about air pollution from cars or from incinerators.

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When we look at the year 2005, I think it is very important for all of us in this room to try to imagine a future that we can truly believe in. I believe that the signposts that we're driving into the ground today will lead us in the direction of that vision.

Three of the things I want to talk about today--are the three major signposts that Governor Weld thinks will help us get to a vision of a cleaner, better Massachusetts.

The first signpost is real Resource Protection, the second signpost is Streamlined Regulations for "more effective protection, less process," and the third signpost is Green Business.

I think the single most effective tool available, which will help us all, all three of these goals, is working partnerships amongst communities, businesses, non-profit agencies and government. And I'd add one more thing to that, somehow eliminating the continual mistrust that, for whatever reason, continues to exist amongst all of us.

Looking at the first signpost, which should actually be a billboard based on all it encompasses, we see that we're well on our way to protecting our land, our water and our air; that we should be really beginning to open up champagne bottles and celebrate.

We have, for an example, an active land conservation and protection program that protects on the average over 10,000 acres of land every year through acquisitions, preservation restrictions and conservation easements. So at that rate by the year 2005, another 100,000 acres of valuable space should be protected. That is a lot of land! A guarantee, as Governor Weld said in his inaugural address, that Boston kids will know what a farm looks like, smells like, and feels like, and that kids will really have some breathing space.

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The programs are in place for expanding on the amount of land that we already have under protection. But there's one thing that isn't in place, and that is the passage of the Open Space Bond Bill (H.1644), and if it doesn't get passed sometime very, very soon, that vision of 100,000 more acres of land under the restriction of the state is one that we will really have to worry about. If we want to have open space in the year 2005, we need to have the money to protect it. It is that simple!

So I guess that's my pitch to you today. You asked what should people do. Help us get that bond bill through for \$318,000,000. We're going into our third year of inaction and delay on the part of the Legislature for something that is truly not very controversial, something that everybody agrees can be afforded and is well worth the expense.

Cleaning up our water begins with open space protection. But I think it encompasses much more. For example, there was reference made to our Title 5 technologies, the ones that were recently approved by the Department of Environmental Protection. I think this was a huge step in helping us clean up the waterways of Massachusetts. With these new technologies, we are keeping sewage from entering our water supplies. And our job should be to make sure that our water is clean, whether it's a Boston Harbor beach like Wollaston in Quincy, or the lakes and ponds along the Neponset River, or the waters of the Quabbin and Wachusett reservoirs.

We have approved five new septic technologies in the last six months. Many builders and developers said it couldn't be done. We did it, and by the year 2005, we should have scores to choose from in the future.

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Another hot topic these days related to water quality is the state of our fisheries. Governor Weld has asked the federal government to agree with us that a crisis--in fact, a disaster--exists on the fishing front. We need to bring Massachusetts back into a leadership role as a fishing community.

One of those things, apart from getting the designation as Massachusetts as a state that is under disaster, which will provide much needed unemployment benefits for all the people who work on those fishing boats, is to begin very seriously looking at aquaculture as a way and a means of helping us make sure that fishing remains as part of our future.

The new economics of seafood is one that will touch jobs, national incomes, and natural resources. We may well have to stop fishing for ground fish between now and 2005. But I think the fisheries will return. If you just take a moment and look at the inspiration of the striped bass, which 15 years ago everybody said if you put the striped bass fishing on hold it will be the end of the fishing industry--today striped bass are back in higher numbers than ever before. As John Chafer has frequently said, if you give Mother Nature half a chance, she'll give you far more back.

In the year 2005, I hope we can begin referring to what will be called a "blue revolution," rather than a green revolution. And by encouraging aquaculture today, which is an issue that has to be dealt with very carefully with local communities, we will ensure food from the sea in our future.

One of the biggest tasks in protecting our resources is keeping them free of pollution. Today I think John and I are faced, not with the big problems, the big polluters who are out there, but with a couple of million smaller polluters who still exist.

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Today, the biggest sources of air and water pollution are the consumer products that we all use. We tend to forget that. We like to blame MWRA, or we like to blame Northeast Utilities, or we like to point the finger at all sorts of major manufacturers. And yet over a quarter of us live in homes with septic systems. And the vast majority of us drive cars. The biggest water and air polluters in Massachusetts come from septic system and cars.

Are we going to give up septic systems and cars just because they're pollution threats? Of course not. What we have to do is turn to advanced technology. Here in Massachusetts we manufacture some of the cleanest technology for dealing with consumer waste anywhere in the country.

One of my absolute favorites is the electric car. I can just imagine what the year 2005 will look like--lots and lots of electric cars! No exhaust systems, carburetors, fuel injection systems, mufflers or catalytic converters. Easy maintenance and clean air. I guess the downside would be that we'll no longer be entertained by "Car Talk" on NPR!

In 2005, no one will consider buying old internal combustion cars. They will look back today and say, "Back in 1995, for \$1.10 I could buy a gallon of gasoline which would take my gas car 22 miles. Or I could get a full electric charge and go 65 miles." In 2005 we'll say, "For \$3.00, an electric charge gives me 300 miles of travel."

Does that sound too much to believe? In 1962, John F. Kennedy challenged America to put a man on the moon and safely return to the earth within a decade. Not only did we do that, we also put four electric cars on the moon.

If NASA could do it back in 1962, why can't Chrysler, Ford and GM do it, put those cars on the showroom floor today?

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One more note on Resource Protection before I move on to the next signpost. Teddy Roosevelt once said, "The nation does well if it treats its natural resources as assets, which must be turned over to the next generation increased, not impaired in value."

Last week, Governor Weld and I recognized 56 companies who have all made great strides in incorporating post-consumer waste into their packaging, thereby increasing our natural resources.

In response to Governor Weld's packaging challenge, companies are combining pollution prevention with innovative technology application. For example, Nature's Backyard, Inc., which is a company in New Bedford, is the manufacturer and marketer of "Brave New Composter." This is a composting bin made from a 100% post-consumer recycled plastic detergent bottles, which are collected from the New Bedford region. Not only is it made of recycled material, but the purpose of this product is to recycle yard and food waste which would otherwise be sent to a landfill!

This past February in Massachusetts, we issued a recycling report card for the entire Commonwealth and we gave each town and city across the state, a grade from A to F based on their recycling rate. A few stellar examples of communities that are really moving along in their recycling programs, includes Wayland at 51% and Marcy Crowley is here, the Selectwoman from Wayland. Wayland got the highest mark in the state. Worcester at 38 percent, which I think is extraordinary. Worcester has the highest recycling rate of any urban large city in America.

Never let it be said that only people in Wayland and Wellesley can do it. We can do it in Worcester as well. Amherst, 40 percent. The report card did wonders for getting the towns and cities of Massachusetts to evaluate their recycling programs. It got me into

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a lot of trouble too. Those people who got F's are still calling our office. But I like to think that the nearly 160 A's and B's of the communities that should be lauded and should be made to stand out and that—it would be nice to hear from some of those communities too, Marcy, not just the F's.

My answer back to all the people who got F's was why are you mad at me? I'm mad at you. You know, you're only recycling at a two percent rate. The goal of Massachusetts is to have 46 percent recycling by the year 2000. And we're only 28 percent there. And I have a feeling that I'm going to be the one blamed, not you, if we don't reach that goal by the year 2000 and for all of the cries about incinerators and landfills, the fact that some communities have chosen not to do the job that they could do, given the hope and inspiration that communities like Worcester provide, I think is really abysmal.

In this regard what I think we're trying to do legislatively is important. The Governor has introduced a bill for an additional ten million dollars this year to put into accelerating recycling programs statewide -- helping to provide technical and financial assistance to towns and cities that are having trouble getting programs off the ground and that is certainly going to be important for all of us to watch to make sure it becomes a reality.

The state is also putting its money where its mouths are on recycling. We are drastically increasing the amount of recycled products we buy! For example, two years ago, the Commonwealth spent 2.3 million dollars on recycled goods. Last year, we nearly tripled that amount and spent 8.2 million dollars! This year we hope to double it again by purchasing 17 million dollars of recycled products. That is really using the purchasing

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power of the state in a very substantial way, and it sets an example for local governments, corporations, and others.

As we approach the year 2005, we'll look back on all of this and wonder why it took so long? By then, recycling will be really big business. Already it is becoming so. Pollution prevention will be built right into product design and material re-use will be so automatic as to be reflex.

The second signpost, Streamlining Regulations, brings us into a slightly more political territory. There is a lot of media attention being focused on this issue these days. Everybody in Washington is talking about streamlining. We, here in Massachusetts, rather more quietly have done something about it. We're sustaining environmental protection while cutting the red tape

I refer to an article in the *Boston Globe* on the 31st of March. "Envirotech firms don't fear new rules," the headline said. The article states that executives of flourishing environmental technology companies in Massachusetts don't foresee a retreat from the standards that keep them in business. Massachusetts envirotech firms are not worried.

Don Goldberg, Chief Executive at GZA Geoenvironmental Technologies, Inc. stated, "Regulations that truly protect public health will stand the test of both time and the new Congress. That's where the greatest business opportunities for envirotech firms lie." So in a sense, Mr. Goldberg is restating an ancient Roman legal axiom which proclaimed, "The people's safety is the highest law."

Today, our environmental laws embrace this principle. By the year 2005, computer systems will allow direct on-line monitoring of emissions from inspection and maintenance for cars. Companies will deal directly with the DEP database when

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reporting, and data collection and entry will be in a unified system with dramatically less paperwork. That's what we're working on right now.

EPA is currently considering a grant application by our Massachusetts Department of Environmental Protection for a national pilot project to be conducted here in Massachusetts for precisely this kind of revolution. So Mr. Goldberg and the Romans lead me right from regulation to the last, and most certainly not the least most important signpost: Green Business.

When we think about the year 2005, we have to remember that the environment is and always will be extremely connected to economic systems. John Mitchell recently observed in *Audubon's Sanctuary Magazine*, that the two words "ecology" and "economy" come from the same Greek root, *oikos*, meaning house. We must be sure to keep our house in order.

Innovative technologies that help keep our house in order are the key to the future. Pollution prevention is being worked into the building and production of everything from cars to buildings! By the year 2005, we may see companies taking responsibility for the entire product life cycle of what they make. The point is environmental protection is not just good for the earth. Done right, it's good business too.

How good? Last year, Raytheon did over a billion and a half dollars worth of business in environmental products. That's good business and it's environmentalism done right. The Executive Office of Environmental Affairs along with Gloria Larson's Executive Office of Economic Affairs, and UMass have all put our efforts together in one unbelievable project.

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It's called STEP, the Massachusetts Strategic Environment Technology Partnership. STEP is an innovative effort to keep Massachusetts a national leader in environmental and energy efficient technology. STEP doesn't create new bureaucracies nor does it take the place of the private market in determining the fate of new technologies. What it does do is provide services that developers of innovative technologies really need to move their products from the drawing board into the marketplace.

STEP helps us to expand the diversity of our economic base and at the same time to protect our environment. Environmental Affairs hopes to have \$1 million dollars in operating funds to support STEP. We're also seeking capital to carry out the STEP initiatives through the recently filed Open Space Bond Bill. And we're getting calls daily about entrepreneurs who are interested in what STEP has to offer.

New technologies are already being reviewed by our technical review committee. I recently attended one of those meetings where advanced water quality technologies were being reviewed for industrial boilers. It was one of the most exciting meetings I've ever attended in state government.

Here was a man who has been able to market a product which drastically and dramatically reduces emissions from boilers. He doesn't know how it works and so when he goes to sell big, this is not an uncommon problem, he doesn't understand the physics, he doesn't understand the engineering, he doesn't know how it works. But when he goes to a big, big buyer or when he goes to a bank, the first thing that the banker asks is explain how it works. And so we now have a group of technical people from UMass who are sitting down to not just look at the data of this emission control stuff that is in a number of different boilers throughout New England, but who is helping him understand step-by-step

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why it is that that particular technology really is working the way he and all of the data show. So I hope that by the year 2005 all 50 states and even the federal government will have a program like STEP.

Another Massachusetts innovation which will be commonplace in 2005, I think, is our Office of Technical Assistance (OTA). The article in the *Globe* reported that many companies don't use pollution monitoring technologies because they're afraid they will detect levels that exceed the standards. That's where OTA comes in. The Office of Technical Assistance will not report a company's violation if the company works with them to remedy the situation.

So, if I'm president of Company X and I'm afraid I'm polluting, I can work with OTA to find a solution without being fined for my current violation. This partnership has already worked for nearly 500 companies in the Commonwealth. They are cleaner, they are safer and often more profitable after OTA has worked with them than before. Real success story.

One company I had a chance to visit last month was the winner of the 1994 Governor's Toxic Use Reduction Award, Johnson & Johnson in New Bedford. They have eliminated approximately 65 percent of its annual hazardous waste. Steve Hemingway who is the Regional Vice President of Operations told me during the tour that he set up the same standards for all of the plants in J & J Professional Groups throughout the world.

One example makes the point. He ordered all of his underground tanks exhumed worldwide because it was cheaper than having to clean up even one spill. He said environmental protection is a long-term cost saver in virtually all instances and a short-term cost saver in many.

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So if we have companies like J & J and Nature's Backyard increasing in number between now and the year 2005, I think we may be well on our way to resource protection through innovative technologies

Last week I served on a panel at the Shady Hill School with John DeVillars and Doug Foy, the head of the Conservation Law Foundation. It was two weeks ago. John was on a trade mission to Portugal last week. We discussed the future as well on that panel, especially as it relates to our children. I think environmental protection is not simply a matter of acting in our own self interest. Our children and their children have every reason to expect that they will inherit a clean world.

The Governor put it this way, "Our challenge is to ensure that our children's lives can be as full and rewarding as the lives of their parents and grandparents. I want my grandchildren to be able to splash around in our rivers and streams."

Massachusetts is certainly laying down the framework for our children, as well, when we look towards the year 2005. The Department of Education's Common Core of Learning includes the following statement: "All students should apply the fundamental principles of the life sciences, physical sciences, earth/space sciences, and the science of technology to analyze problems and relate them to human concerns and life experiences."

As we all face the spread of some environmental degradation, new environmental constraints and growing environmental concerns, we must remember to stick by our signposts. Resource Protection, "More Effective Protection, Less Process," and Green Business will help make the Commonwealth a leader in the nation and a better place to live.

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Oliver Wendell Holmes said, "The great thing in this world is not so much where we stand as in what direction we're moving." And we're all moving forward towards an attainable and sustainable 2005, and I look forward to working with all of you to make sure that that becomes a reality.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

IAN MENZIES: We are extremely pleased that our next speaker, John DeVillars, President Clinton's appointee as Regional Administrator, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, could be with us today. Back in 1989, you will recall, he was appointed State Secretary of Environmental Affairs by then Governor Dukakis. Before his 1989 appointment John served for six years as Chief of Operations for Governor Dukakis, and for two years before that, as Deputy Director of Operations for New York City's Human Resources Administration. I think it is unnecessary to recall his one speedy performance on the Massachusetts Turnpike, except to say that in taking over the regional reins, he promised to drive hard for aggressive enforcement of environmental laws and cleanup, and there is evidence that he has.

John P. DeVillars

[Applause.]

JOHN DeVILLARS: Thank you, Ian, and thank you for not bringing up my driving record. Trudy says it's OK to drive fast as long as it's an electric car. I'm happy to be here and I'm happy to be here especially with a lot of good people who are very much engaged on the front lines of the fight for better environmental protection, smarter environmental protection, more effective, economically effective, governance of our

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environment. Most of you, or many of you, are working for municipalities, and you very much are on the front lines. Trudy talked about some of the challenges we face. Increasingly, they are not big ticket, single source problems. They are individual problems and they happen in communities, and public works departments have a lot to do about that. Recycling divisions. There's a lot that you folks at the municipal level are doing and can do to help win this battle.

I'm not going to review that in great detail. But I think we have some time--I hope we have some time afterwards for some questions and answers, and I'd be happy to engage in some dialogue about that. I want to thank Kathleen Foley for pulling us all together, and Ian Menzies. This is an annual tradition becoming every bit as important, I think, as the New England Environmental Expo that happened a couple of weeks ago, and a good gathering of people in the Greater Boston area to focus on the challenges, and importantly to focus on the future, as you all are doing today.

It's nice to be asked to look out to the year 2005. In jobs like the ones many of you, and those of us up here have, you're lucky if you can look out to Tuesday, let alone the year 2005. But I subscribe more or less to Ambrose Pierce's theory about the future, and view of the future, which he defined in *The Devil's Dictionary* this way as "that period of time in which our affairs prosper, our friends are true, and our happiness is assured."

Let me assure you it's very rare for a federal official, let alone somebody from EPA, to be able to talk in that context of bliss. So I'm very happy, Ian, that you created that opportunity for us. Ian asked, before Trudy spoke, for us to at least in part address the question, are we making progress on the environment? Are we showing some gains, or are we falling back? I think the answer is decidedly that we are making progress.

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And I think that one of the mistakes that we have made in the past, and that we're trying to rectify at EPA, is that we don't celebrate our success enough. We don't let people know that the literally two trillion dollars of investment that this country has made in the last 25 years has paid substantial dividends.

That resource right out there, Boston Harbor, is as good an example of the return on our investment, both money, time and labor, that you could ask for. Ten years ago, 3,000 pounds of toxic substances each day dumped into that harbor. Thanks to the good work of Doug McDonald and the Track Unit at the MWRA, and a lot of other good folks, that's down to 500 pounds a day.

We've got 70 percent fewer beach closings in Metropolitan Boston now than we had just a few short years ago. The number of herring coming through Boston Harbor to spawn in the Back River is twice what it was just a few years ago. And now in the spring we have porpoises returning to Boston Harbor. Success that we should celebrate and take note of.

It's happening all over New England. Twenty years ago in Vermont only 11 percent of the municipalities there had secondary treatment of their waste water; 60 percent had no treatment at all. Today every community in Vermont, every municipality in Vermont, has at least secondary waste water treatment.

In Narragansett Bay, the white flounder and seals are returning. Clark's Cove in Buzzards Bay, closed to shell fishing for 100 years, reopened just a couple of weeks ago.

Our air quality is better as well. In 1980, 50 days out of the year we exceeded federal ozone standards in New England. Last summer it was down to eight. Sulphur

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dioxide emissions that contribute to acid rain cut by 30 percent. The amount of lead in the atmosphere cut by 98 percent.

The most recent example of our success that I heard came from an unlikely source, the Hemlock Society, the group that, as you know, is there to help people! When life's trials and tribulations get to be a bit too much, some people turn to the Hemlock Society to deal with that. They have literally sent out a notice to their members and friends--I guess the Hemlock Society has friends--saying, "Do not rely on Model Year 1992 cars because the CO levels are not sufficient to get the deed done." That's success! We should celebrate that as environmentalists. We did that.

[Laughter.]

So we are making progress, Ian, whether it's measured by the beaches of Boston Harbor or the Hemlock Society. Problems remain, nevertheless. Whitman said of New Englanders, "To know us, let's go to our mountain tops and ocean shores."

Many of those mountain tops and ocean shores and other special places in New England continue to be threatened. Twice the number of shellfish beds closed in New England today as a dozen years ago. As a region we're still emitting a billion pounds of toxic materials put into the waste stream in our region. Ninety-four Super Fund sites, two of them, not coincidentally, just eight miles from here in a community with the highest childhood leukemia rate anywhere in America.

The State of Maine, Vacationland, where tourism is the central underpinning of their economy, issued public health warnings to pregnant women, nursing mothers, not to eat any fish caught in inland streams and lakes, and to others, able-bodied people, to limit their fish consumption to three or four large fish meals a year.

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These are significant problems, problems that affect, not only our public health but our economy. We are a region very much dependent on our natural resources, on our quality of life. It is not an accident that three out of every four doctoral graduates from MIT stay in New England. They like living here. They like the quality of life.

Tourism, a 14 billion dollar industry for the region's economy. Three-quarters of a million people depending on our quality of life and the attraction of tourists to our region for their livelihood.

A lot of those natural resources are under threat. Fishing a decade ago was a two billion dollar industry. Today it's a half a billion dollar industry, and it's not going to recover soon. So we need to be focused. We need to be mindful that while we've made a lot of progress, we've got some more left to be done. We need to be smart about how we do that work.

In a lot of ways we need to change our approach to it. There's a lot of change underway, much of it being spawned here in Massachusetts, to the state's great credit. I think that's a tradition that the Weld Administration has built on and built on well. A lot of the seeds for some of the initiatives that Trudy talked about were planted in the Dukakis Administration. But it's a lot easier to sow the seeds than it is to nurture them and harvest them, and to see them and help them bear fruit. And a lot of fruit is being borne on these initiatives.

The Governor, Secretary Coxe, and Secretary Tierney before her, deserve a lot of credit for that. We too are trying to be more focused, trying to bring creativity to the federal effort to protect the environment.

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I've used the word "focus." Mark Twain said that there's nothing that focuses a man's mind at night like a hanging in the morning. Many have likened what happened last November to a hanging in the morning. The truth of the matter is a lot of those reforms, a lot of the reforms that we have underway to regulate smarter and more effectively, were efforts that began long before the Contract With America.

I'm not going to take a lot of time to go into those efforts today. Maybe in the dialogue we can talk about some of them. But what I would like to do is share with you two alternative visions for the future. One is the future under the Contract With America, Part 5. This is the future in the year 2005, Ian. The other is the future not under the Contract With America, Part 5

Imagine, if you will, that it's 7 o'clock in the morning in the year 2005. You're automatic shade opener hums across the window pane revealing a gray haze beyond. Your eyes stinging slightly, coughing, you stumble to the bathroom. The shower sputters and you eye what comes out with a degree of uncertainty. You're tempted to go back to bed, knowing that it's going to take a while until the water clears. But you don't. You stay at it because today is the first day of your family vacation.

Soon you, your spouse and kids are on your way, piled into the Enormo Van [laughter], your personal home on wheels. Not electric either. Every convenience is within arm's reach; satellite home movie hookups, cyberspace, game master computer, the works. No need to pull over for days, much less to get out into the scorching February heat.

The long-awaited vacation begins. You've decided to take an auto drive from your home here in the Nation's State of Massachusetts--remember this is the Contract

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With America--to the Nation's State of California. You pull onto the easy access lane. Two hours later you're cruising on Internation State 95. Ah, the great indoors, you sigh. By lunchtime you have passed through the Nation's State of New York, where license plates proudly read, "The Continuous City" [laughter].

Your son tells a voice-activated rear window to open, but it stays put. "Ozone warning in effect," the synthesized voice calls back. "Rear window should not be opened when smog reaches warning levels." "Daddy, Mommy, tell the window to open," your daughter whines. "Why does it keep saying dumb old ozone warning every day"? "I'm not sure it didn't used to, but at least we don't have to pay federal taxes any more."

"What's federal mean," your son wonders. Not in the mood to give a lesson in ancient history, you notice the paper on your lap has the answer to Sally's question right there on the front page. Below a huge piece on the Contract With America, Part 5, a much smaller headline reads, "New Health Findings Confirm 1994 Study on Effects of Smog." The lead paragraph, which you decide not to share with your kid, says, "The Harvard School of Public Health released data today that supports research conducted a decade ago, widely disregarded at the time, that high ozone levels results in an estimated two percent increase in human mortality." I'll save some of the future here.

Soon you're in Ohio, your first stop on the family vacation. "The Great Domed Outdoor Adventure," Bill quotes the familiar ad with a big grin. "Family fun for one and all. Join us for a nostalgic walk through the forests and farmhouses, hills and dales, just like the good old days." "Awesome," says your daughter. "Maybe we'll see some live animals."

[Laughter.]

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That's one vision of the future. Let me share another one with you. This is a future, not under the Contract but under a smarter, re-invented government.

It's 6:30 in the morning in the year 2005. I guess you got up earlier in this vision--that's a good sign. You jump in your crystal clear, water efficient shower, pick up your 70 percent post consumer recycle content newspaper on the way out the door, read Alan Lupo's column on the progress that's being made on the mitigation package for the Central Artery--

[Laughter.]

Secretary Kerasiotes has joined us. I couldn't let that go.

President Al Gore, now in his second term, smiles up at you--

[Laughter.]

--photograph placed prominently above the fold on the front page. As you head to the garage to unplug your car, you wave to your neighbor, who is on her way to the commuter rail station in her shiny new natural gas mini van. She's giving her son a ride to South Station, where he's hopping on the Northeast Corridor Express for that three-hour train trip to New York City.

After picking up your fellow car poolers, you swing into the HOV lane. Your son, riding in back, points to the large wind turbine blades gleaming in the morning sunlight, part of the energy system that provides him--I'm sorry, this is not your son; this is your fellow car pooler--that provides him with the cold showers--warm showers [laughter]--your fellow car pooler likes hot showers and cold beer, and it's delivered to him through wind energy.

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You hit Star 1 on your telephone, dial up the Smart Route Travel Service and hear the good news. No problems this morning on the Expressway, the Tobin is looking good, electronic toll sensing at the Weston tolls have that part of the highway all clear, and the Central Artery--well, it's almost done.

[Laughter.]

Luke, your other passenger, lets out a sigh. He's buried in the financial pages of your copy of the *Globe*. "Damn," he says, "I wish I had invested in those environmental industries and technology mutual funds that Trudy Coxe was talking about back in the mid '90's."

"Stock in E-Test, that company that makes those emissions testing systems is through the roof. If I'd made that investment I could be retired right now on all that money, spending my days fishing and swimming around the Boston Harbor Islands National Park "

"No way," Christo retorts. "The best investments in the '90's were those real estate investment trusts. You know, the ones that were developing ground field sites, what used to be called Super Fund sites."

In fact, you're very familiar with that. Your office is located on a former Super Fund site. Today it's a spanking new industrial office park. In fact, you were at the ribbon cutting ceremony just last month where former governor and now EPA Regional Administrator, Bill Weld, presided with his customary wit and charm at the opening.

[Laughter.]

Fantasy Land, maybe. Some of it, to be sure, but not all of it. If we work hard and creatively, work together as a community, bring some of the approaches that Trudy

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was talking about to our work, we can achieve the more optimistic of those scenarios for the future.

Quickly, four areas where we're trying to change our approach to bring that kind of creativity and new approach: Our goal here at EPA New England is to be a laboratory for bold experimentation, to be the place in the country and partnership with our state partners in Massachusetts, a very, very able one at the head of the line, to be the place in the country, indeed in the world, where new approaches are tried and tested. Some of them will fail but not all of them.

It clearly is a time to change our approach to environmental protection. It's past time. A lot of those changes have begun but we need to stay at it. Four areas where we're doing that: One is to bring better science and technology to our work. That's what's behind the STEP Program that Trudy was talking about and it's what's behind the Center for Environmental Industry and Technology that EPA New England established a couple of months ago; the first regional center in the country designed to invest in and promote environmental technologies and through it the environmental industry.

We live in a region of the country with but five percent of the population. In the recession from 1989 to 1992 we lost fully 30 percent of all the jobs lost in America. Those of us in the environmental protection business, both as a political matter and, I think, as a matter of citizenship, have a responsibility to advance initiatives that not only protect the environment, but advance our economy. An investment in environmental technology is a winner both for the environment and the economy.

The cost to American industry to implement the Clean Air Act, when all the 400 rules and regulations are promulgated will be 30 billion dollars a year on industry alone.

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The cost to meet the requirements of the Clean Water Act and the Safe Drinking Water Act for New England, 15 billion dollars. Not borne through a little extra on the price of a commodity, as those air improvement costs are, but borne on the backs of rate payers, as this community and the people represented here know so well.

We are not as a country able to afford those investments, as a political matter, as an economic matter. So for those of us in the environmental protection business, we can either roll back standards or not enforce the standards, or find cheaper, more effective ways of meeting the standards. That's why Governor Weld, Secretary Coxe, the President and Vice-President of the United States, and those of us who work for them, are putting so much effort into this environmental technology area.

Lots of good things happening there. I won't go into the details of it. But we invite--and many of you actually have been involved in helping to make it happen.

Three other areas: one is to introduce economics much more into our decision making. This summer we will unveil in New England the most ambitious emissions training program anywhere in the country. We'll achieve the same or better environmental results at significantly less cost for New England industry because we've focused on getting these training programs up and running more ambitiously, sooner than anywhere else in the country

We're re-engineering our own operations. I've got one manager for every five employees today. By the end of this year it will be one manager for every 11 employees. We're flattening the organization. A lot of this re-engineering is dry as toast, so I will clearly spare you some of the details. But it's important. Today we're organized by water, air, waste divisions. Getting out of that business, organizing by industrial sectors,

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organizing by communities, so that we can be more directly engaged in partnerships with the people. Not just us, who are charged with protecting the environment, but the people in industry and in communities that are charged with that responsibility as well.

And finally, we're educating and empowering. We're getting into the education and empowerment business, stepping back from a strict oversight business. The 800 people that work for EPA New England, too many of them have discussions and conversations only with other people in government, people at headquarters in Washington, our headquarters, and people in the state DPW's and the like.

Government is not going to get this job done, as Secretary Coxe indicated, by itself; certainly not EPA. Our budget in real terms is the same today as it was when Jimmy Carter was president. Public funds--perhaps many of us--certainly many of us--I for one would argue we need more public funding for environmental progress. It isn't going to happen in the short term. We've got to get into the business of educating and empowering others.

In Vermont that means working with dairy farmers. Seventy percent of the pollutant loading to Lake Champlain, the most important natural resource in that state, comes from dairy farms. Up until nine months ago EPA had no relationship with dairy farmers. Yet they're relatively simple, low tech, low cost things that those farmers can do, if educated, to be better environmental citizens.

Secretary Coxe and I are leaving from here to go to Gillette to celebrate a major creative initiative that they are undertaking on behalf of the United States for a new approach to environmental auditing and environmental enforcement.

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Much like the license site professional program for hazardous waste sites here, at Gillette we're testing the notion that if corporations certify through independent professionals that they're in compliance, that should be good enough for us so that we don't have to be in the business of having inspectors out there trying to be in every facility all the time, every way, to in essence create a whole new class of professionals, much like Certified Public Accountants.

Certified financial statements for investors--we should rely on the environmental engineering and auditing community to certify corporate performance, facility performance, on our behalf. One of a number of initiatives that in partnership with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and other new England states at EPA New England we're very much invested in, to try and realize that second vision of the future, to bring some common sense to what are common problems for the common good and get to the year 2005 healthier and saner and happier than we might otherwise do.

We need to work in partnership with lots of good folks, including those of you in this room. To get there we very much appreciate the opportunity to do so.

Thank you very much

[Applause.]

IAN MENZIES: I would really like to thank both the speakers very much. And I must say that their presentations have been so thorough and so positive and so detailed, that I'm going to exert my moderator persona and have us move forward because of the time. We are getting behind. And perhaps even Secretary Kerasiotes would enjoy getting up here for a rebuttal of some of the earlier remarks. So can we change. If both John and Trudy might go to perhaps one end of the room, and if anybody really has some

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questions--have some questions that they just have to ask, I'm sure they'll stay for a few minutes to deal with that. Is that fair, John?

JOHN DeVILLARS: That's fine. Just to let the record note, we started behind as well as finished behind.

IAN MENZIES: But you have used that up plus [laughter]. So would--I'll make the changes now and I would be very pleased if Doug McDonald and Jim Kerasiotes will join us on the platform

Thanks very much

IAN MENZIES And now, to complete the morning session, we get to the really big stuff; Greater Boston's two multi-billion-dollar Big Digs on land and in the sea. And with us are the men in charge and accountable for, one, the cleanup of the harbor and, two, the Third Harbor Tunnel, depressed Central Artery, and additionally, the Old Colony rail restoration, including Green Bush and other projects. The questions are how are we doing? Will the money keep coming? This applies to both projects. Are we as taxpayers going to be hit again and again? When will the projects be completed? And when the pain is over, will the benefits prove worth it? As a long time *Globe* columnist and now, in retirement, a *Patriot Ledger* one, I've always believed so, but not everyone agrees.

James Kerasiotes was appointed Secretary of Transportation by Governor Weld on December 1, 1992, making him responsible for all state policies and initiatives concerning public, private and commercial transportation throughout the states, involving thousands of miles of state roads, bridges, mass transit systems, airports, tunnels and

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railways. As Secretary he supervises the State Highway Department, the Mass. Aeronautics Commission, regional transit authorities and the MBTA.

And into this mix the multi billion dollar Big Dig, and the question really is, has it really depressed you, Jim, [laughter] at this point? Fortunately, he moved into this job from State Highway Commissioner, which was at least a warm-up. And before that he was Undersecretary of Transportation during the King Administration.

James J. Kerasiotes.

JAMES KERASIOTES: Thank you, Ian. I guess what I would like to do to kick this off is, I have the prepared remarks, which is sort of Transportation 20-10, and I think I'll dispense with those and talk more specifically about the project, where we are and where it's heading.

And I'd like to begin by commenting back, Ian, that a lot of what John had to say about what transportation is going to look like in the next decade, I think I'm absolutely on board with. I think that if we are going to continue as a society to guarantee and assure spontaneous personal mobility for people, we're going to have to do it in a way that's environmentally responsible.

And I think that CNG vehicles and electric vehicles are very much a part of our future. And I think we're crazy if we don't, as a state government, and if we don't as a society, demand that the auto makers understand it, and demand it in a way that they are going to willingly and in a very positive and pro-active way supply the vehicles that we need, because at the end of the day I think that this country was built and was made great by the fact that people were able to get to where they wanted to go when they wanted to go there.

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And I don't think that we should restrict that for environmental reasons. I think that if there's another agenda that's at work, and I think that that's something that clearly we can talk about, but certainly from an environmental agenda, from an environmental perspective, we have a responsibility, as a state government and as a society, to move forward.

Secondly, I guess I do get depressed sometimes. One of the things that is very difficult in a job like this--when we came in in 1991, we saw that there were a lot of things that government was spending money on that it didn't necessarily need to spend money on. And there were a lot of things that government should have been spending money on that it wasn't.

And in the Highway Department and at the MBTA we worked very hard to bring operating costs down; we worked very hard to bring payrolls down in a responsible and a humane way, and to orient our work forces towards jobs that needed to be done, not jobs that didn't.

And at the end of the day, the only thing that you read in the paper, when you get up in the morning, is the cost of the Central Artery Project. And I think that at the end of the day, when we look at the cost of the Central Artery Project--and by the way, Alan Lupo will be writing columns 10 years from now, so let there be no mistake about that.

At the end of the day, what we have to remember is that the costs of this project have risen because the people who were affected by this project wanted them to. That goes to whether--you know, a month and a half ago we said that, you can bring this cost for the project down by two billion dollars and you can cut four years off the schedule.

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All you have to do is close the Central Artery, take it down and depress the Central Artery.

Fifteen years ago, or twenty years ago, that would have been the only practical way that government officials would have suggested doing it. Fifteen or twenty years ago that would have been a mistake. And the reality of the situation is that there are costs associated with keeping a city open, there are costs associated with making sure and taking great pain to ensure that people who are going to be affected by a project--whether it's a business, whether it's a neighborhood, whether it's a community--is going to get some benefit, not only in the long term, after the project is done because, hey, listen, at the end of the day this project is going to bring tremendous benefits to this city and to this region, both in terms of the quality of life that it represents, and I'm one of those people who came here and went to graduate school and didn't go home either. And I decided to stay because this is probably one of the most exciting cities in the world in which to live, and I think it's a great place.

But, going forward, we have to continue to make the kinds of investments that will assure that that's the case going forward. And if you look at what this project is all about, and why we're doing it, I think that that's what I'd like to start with, the benefits.

You know, from an economic standpoint we have a jewel in Logan Airport, which is just seconds from our core city. Unfortunately, you can't get there. It's seconds as the crow flies. It's a half an hour, forty minutes, forty-five minutes, depending on the traffic, if you get in your car and try to get through. That's no better than Houston or Chicago or any other place where the airport is 30 miles away from the core city.

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That is not a benefit to business and that's not a benefit to the region's economy. As soon as that Third Harbor Tunnel opens--this year, by the way. One of the best kept secrets in the city is that that tunnel is almost done and ready to open. Eighteen percent of the traffic that's on the existing, or going through the existing, tunnels is going to be rerouted through the Third Harbor Tunnel. That's going to mean less cars on the Central Artery, that's going to mean easier access to Logan Airport, that's going to mean better business for the region.

In the end you've got an old, decaying 40-year structure in the air that's falling apart. It would cost a billion dollars to tear it down and rebuilt it--not tear it down, but rebuild it in place. And while you're doing it, you would cause the same kind of excruciating pain for the region's economy than if you were to take it down and replace it underground.

And that billion dollars, by the way, is before you get into the whole discussion about public participation and mitigation, before you would have to go through all of the reviews, before you would have to comply with all of the laws and add the costs associated with that compliance. So that a billion dollars is the same figure as somebody drawing a line on a piece of paper 10, 20 years ago and saying, "Oh, what will it cost to depress the Central Artery? Well, two and a half billion dollars." Well, that didn't consider anything other than what the engineers estimate at the time would be for a very crude and basic construction method, going through the center of the city.

That's the kind of reasoning, or justification, I think, beyond anything else, as to why we're doing a project like this. And in the end what do you get? In the end you get

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green space that we didn't have. You get a much more exciting, much more attractive, much more livable city.

And you also get the benefit of solving a major transportation problem that people don't even think about. People say, well, you're not going to solve any problems by doing this project. You bet you are. You're going to solve a lot of problems because you're going to take 29 exits and entrances and reduce them to 15.

That means the traffic is going to flow through better. You're going to move traffic across the Charles River in a much more efficient fashion. You're going to take substantial amounts of traffic off the Central Artery and direct it through a Third Harbor Tunnel directly at Logan Airport.

You're going to do a lot of the things that transportation planners envisioned 20, 25 and 30 years ago; maybe with different methods, but in the end what you're also going to get is a much more spectacular product. So waiting wasn't necessarily a bad thing to do.

And anybody who thinks that the cost of the project is one that should be thought of in terms of a construction project, they're absolutely crazy, because this isn't a 10-year construction project. This is a 100-year project, this is a two- and three-generation project. And you ought to cost it out in terms of its life cycle. And that's the only way to look at this project, because the benefits and the value that it's going to leave behind to the city, to our children, to our grandchildren, to this region, are going to be spectacular.

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So at the end of the day, when you talk about costs, the costs around this project and cost increases--and one of the reasons why, by the way, that while everyone has thrown the kitchen sink at this project, none of it has stuck.

The fact of the matter is that they're aiming at the wrong target. It's isn't a big, bad contractor or construction manager from San Francisco that's driving up costs, and it's not the political process and it's not patronage. It's not all the things that people would like to believe that it is. Because if it were--if it were, we would have been reading about it a lot sooner than now.

And the other thing that we all have to consider and understand is that in a project this size we'd have to be nuts if we didn't think that somebody wasn't trying to abuse and that somebody wasn't trying to take advantage and that somebody wasn't trying to steal. I'm sure it happens every day.

But it's our responsibility to make sure that as soon as we get a scent, a hint, that we jump on it, we follow it up, refer it along to the appropriate authorities and send the message loudly and clearly that that's not the kind of project that we're going to tolerate.

That's what we did in 1991, when we found people fooling around in the Relocation Division of the Highway Department, which was involved in relocating businesses that were in the path of the Central Artery. Within minutes of hearing about it we referred it to the U.S. Attorney's office. We got an indictment; we got a conviction.

And that's the kind of reaction that we have to have every time as public officials. We can't be afraid of it. You know, we can't be afraid to stand up and say we found a problem and we dealt with it. And if we continue to do that, we'll have the ability, I

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believe, to maintain the public support necessary to build the project, to have people understand that in fact we are trying to do the right thing.

And in the end, when you look at this project, you see that it transcends Republican and Democratic administrations, both at the state and federal levels. And if you listen to some conspiracy theorists, this is the biggest world-wide conspiracy, and everybody is part of it, except for two or three people who were on 680 and RKO between 10:00 and 12:00 on weekdays [laughter]. And even he doesn't know what he's talking about.

The long and the short of it is this: This project four years ago didn't have its permits, didn't have a record of decision, didn't have a shovel of earth turned. Four years later the Third Harbor Tunnel, Ted Williams Tunnel, is sitting under the harbor now completed. The approaches are in the process of being completed. It will be opened this year.

Mainline construction has begun in earnest. The last remaining controversy, or unfinished piece of business about the scope of this project, the Charles River Crossing, has been completed in terms of the public participation process. A design has been settled on, a scheme has been settled on. It's passing the muster. And at the end of the day you will see this year in earnest downtown construction. You can already see it in earnest.

And I think that one of the other realities about why so much attention on this project and maybe a little less on Doug's project, is that you see this project everywhere you go. It's part of your life. And you've got to get used to it, because it's going to be there for the next 10 years

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And one of the things I can promise you is that those dollars that some people snipe and gripe about are going to dramatically improve your quality of life, your ability to do business, your ability to get around the city during the course of that construction.

And at the end of the day, when we've all endured that 10 years of pain, we're going to have a tremendous benefit that's left to us. So for four years we've had the distinct pleasure of building a project that was envisioned in a very dramatic and very spectacular way by the people in the prior administration. And those of you who know me know that I don't have a lot of things in common with my predecessor, Mr. Salvucci. But one of the things that I can tell you is that in terms of this project, the man was absolutely visionary. Because he had put on a piece of paper a notion that no one, I think, in their right mind would ever believe could happen. It is so big; it is so massive.

And the consensus that was developed around the project, the coalitions that were built around this project, took so much care and took so much hard work that it's incomprehensible to me that any individual or any group of individuals could have pulled the thing off. But they did and we're happy to build it, believe me. Because I think that at the end of the day everybody who travels in the city, everybody who does business in the city, and everybody who lives in the city is going to thank us for doing it. And if we don't, shame on us.

Thank you

[Applause.]

IAN MENZIES: Our next speaker is Doug MacDonald, head of the Mass. Water Resource Authority. Doug is a lawyer, who quite openly said he loves the job he's doing and delights in giving tours of his Deer Island domain, egg digesters and all. And

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I've been in the egg digesters. It's quite an experience. MacDonald succeeded the quite contentious, hard driving Paul Levy as Executive Director in 1992, and came aboard quietly but not uninformed. He in fact was the key lawyer who drew up the enabling legislation for the MWRA in 1983, while at Palmer Dodge. And, like Levy, has had an excellent working relationship with Judge A. David Mazzone, who oversees this court-ordered project, the latter a point we sometimes forget.

Douglas MacDonald.

DOUGLAS MacDONALD: Well, my job is to prove that MWRA can finish the project on budget and close to on time. So I'm not going to do anything but just pull out a couple of nuggets from points I wanted to make, and some observations from the course of the proceedings this morning.

The first question is how are we doing? We're doing great. And what I think people are increasingly realizing is that the project is real, we're 60 percent done, the new North System flows are now going through the plant every day.

The old plant at Deer Island is, for all practical effects and impacts, off line. And new pieces of the plant will be coming on line over the next several years. And each time that the next stage of the plant opens, the Water Authority in Boston Harbor gets a little better.

Is everything perfect? No. We've got problems in the tunnels; I think everybody knows that. We're slow and running into a number of problems. But even those projects are much further along than most people imagine. One of the tunnels is three-quarters bored and the other is 60 percent bored. So we're not at the beginning any more.

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I think if you go ahead to the year 2005 and ask what all this will mean, particularly in a regional perspective, and talking a little bit about optimism, I think people are going to look back on the reconstruction of the sewage treatment system for Boston, which is really the correct way of thinking about what the Boston Harbor Project is all about, and say there's an inspiration because there, in fact, we did it.

In 2005 we're going to look--the Boston Harbor construction process is going to be history. And it's going to be an enormously inspiring foundation for which we can look to other things that we can and should and want to do. And that's going to be a very exciting legacy of the project

I think there's a problem for people who are thoughtful about public process and how we get things like this achieved. And I'm glad Ian alluded to it. I think it's a very interesting question whether we would do it or could have done it, would be as far as we are now or would be anywhere in 2005, but for the intervention of federal enforcement from the EPA and the remarkable and steady hand of Judge Mazzone, whose role in this whole thing is certainly the least understood of all the key actors, and bears, more than anyone else, the responsibility. I think the credit, for much of the progress that's been made.

But in 2005, when we are able to say "We did it," the credit is going to be to hundreds and, I think, thousands of people across the region who, each in their own way, has helped carry this project forward.

I think there's some other things we're going to have to do. I think yesterday's article by Sam Best Warner in the *Globe* on the Charles River was extremely well worth reading. It covers a bunch of issues which we've only begun to talk about. And one of the

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most important of them is that water pollution is not just a function of sewage treatment. It's also a function of a whole lot of other pollution issues that we're just beginning to seriously address. And the issues in the Charles River are much more about those issues than they are about sewage treatment.

So we'll probably have an agenda to continue to work on. And we'll be working on the remediation of the CSO's. But there, for some of the reasons that John DeVillars suggested a minute ago, we really have to find cost effective ways of bringing these pollution abatement programs into fruition. And I'm very pleased that the billion dollars that we're taking off the price tag of that program is something that we and the regulators are all working on together.

If you go forward to 2005 and ask yourself what you should be looking for at that point, the real question is: Will we have re-entered the incredibly sad cycle of infrastructure investment to be followed by neglect, to be followed by maintenance breakdown and then require another colossal intervention in order to retrieve collapsed systems. We'll know that answer in 2005 because we'll have seven or eight years of experience with the new Deer Island plant, and we'll see whether we can, at the agency and with the support of people throughout the region who care and who have to pay, whether we can sustain the maintenance of that plant.

The Boston Harbor crisis is, more than anything else, a litany or a legacy of neglect; and forgetting that new facilities are only as good as the maintenance and commitment that is made to their proper operation--and this is an enormous issue, and for all that we always think in terms of vision as new initiatives and new things that are going to happen, there is nothing more important to our vision of the future that we continue to

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do well, the fundamentals. And one of those is maintaining the public infrastructure that we already have.

The other thing that MWRA will be looking forward to in the year 2000 is where we are on the water supply and drinking water issues in the system which serves two and a half million people. It is in an environmental and public health and economic sense even more important than our sewage system, and like our sewage system, has been woefully neglected.

I'll skip all the statistics, except to say that 80 percent of the pipes in the MWRA system--more than half the pipes in the MWRA system are 80 years old or more. A quarter of the pipes in the MWRA system are 100 years old or more. And that's infrastructure neglect with an absolute vengeance, and that has to be addressed between now and the year 2005.

We have several projects. It was very interesting to hear Chairman Finneran speak about the Quabbin Reservoir this morning. A key project is improving the transmission of water between the Quabbin reservoir and Boston. And that's the Metro West Water Supply Tunnel. And we're just enormously grateful to Chairman Finneran for his inclusion of that project in the new proposed budget as a project to which the state will help ratepayers over years to come, although the scale of that assistance remains to be seen.

So watch for that. Watch for whether or not we're able to solve the--and move forward on the critical problems of water supply protection, and if we can get our water treatment plants up to federal snuff, which they are far, far short of today.

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On the water side there's one key thing that has been done by way of achievements. And that is the fact that from 1985 until today water demand on the system has been cut by about 60,000,000 gallons a day, from 330,000,00 gallons a day, which the numbers are all sort of--you know, the eyes glaze over. But that's 10 percent more than the system could safely supply, to about 40,000,000 gallons a day under the threshold of what the system can safely supply. So one of the infrastructure commitments that we've avoided by good planning and good work is the need to divert the Connecticut River, which would have been a terribly traumatic event for Massachusetts.

Now what the \$64,000 question is: What's the rate going to be in 2005?

[Laughter.]

Peter, do you want to take a shot?

[Laughter.]

PETER COLSON: Sky's the limit.

[Laughter.]

DOUGLAS MacDONALD: Well, I'll tell you--I'll tell you what the rate is going to be in 2005. Everybody ready? I don't have a clue.

[Laughter.]

And here's the reason: Because this is such a complicated problem of political management, of continued federal assistance--not just on the harbor, but on what the federal government is going to do about drinking water improvements throughout the country, what we can continue to find an appropriate priority for in the state budget, and what we ourselves do by way of holding down costs and properly managing our facilities.

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What I will say is that for the last three or four years, every single year we have reduced the projection of what those rates are going to be, because the things that we've needed to do to make our program affordable have all been happening. And I look for further progress in that regard. I think the projections which you read in the newspaper today, which are dramatically below projections of three years ago and dramatically below what WRKO touts as the projections, we're going to beat those numbers with our next set of numbers.

The real question is: Where will we stand against other types of communities like ours across the country? And the answer is we're going to be a little higher. But we're not going to be catastrophically higher. We're not going to discourage business from being here in Boston unless perhaps you're a laundry or a bakery. By and large everybody else is going to be able on average to manage this issue.

Give credit to John DeVillars on one key issue he's pushing very hard. And that is the question, it's all right to have an average that we can probably do in a community that's as wealthy as our Greater Boston community, but there are very serious questions of rate equity about where we're going on water and sewer and what happens to people on fixed income and low income

And I give credit to John because he's been pushing this issue very hard, harder in fact over the last two or three years than we have, because I think we realize that the solutions to those questions are going to have to come from people, rather than be directed by an agency which already has a limited political capital, and probably is not seen as an appropriate vehicle for social engineering.

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But 10 years from now one thing we're going to have to do a lot better than we've done today is balance the question of how the costs of good water and sewer are spread across our people, not only community by community but also through income scales. So I'm sure there will be a couple of questions for Jim and me.

[Applause.]

IAN MENZIES: That's terrific. Both speakers answered exactly what we really wanted to hear. Now, we do have some time for questions. I think we can take a little time on this one. So again the two microphones are there. And has anybody a question on either of the big digs? Yes, ma'am.

VERONIKA THIEBACK: Good afternoon. My name is Veronika Thieback with the Conservation Law Foundation. And I just wanted to ask Secretary Kerasiotes what he envisions the road or street, depending on your viewpoint, that's now called "The Surface Artery," to look like. It doesn't even have to be, of course, your personal view, but the state's view.

[Laughter.]

JAMES KERASIOTES: The current plan is to leave the surface as you would leave a building lot, with granite curbing and seed and loam. And we haven't gotten beyond that point, but there is an agreement between the Mayor and myself that we will appoint a task force group to essentially figure out what the surface ought to look like after we're through, and how we're going to pay for that.

But it's very clear to me that we're going to get the benefit of the full 27 acres of green space that are going to be left there, and that 75 percent of that surface is going to be preserved in a green state, with 25 percent going for other purposes.

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IAN MENZIES: Yes, sir.

QUESTIONER: Can I make a citizen's comment on what Jim has just said?

IAN MENZIES: Yes, go ahead.

QUESTIONER: I work in Charlestown. And if people want to see what the potential of all this is about, if they want to see what it really will mean to our community to achieve Jim's project--I don't go around talking about Jim's project very much--come to Charlestown some day and see what has actually happened as the result of the ramps coming down and City Square opening up. Again a place where what will happen in some respect still remains to be seen

But if you're talking about what the potential dividend of Jim's project is in real terms, you don't have to wait or imagine or vision the answer. You can come to City Square today, and if you ever were familiar with City Square before, just take one look and you are an instant believer in the enormous dividend that this project is going to pay for the quality of life in the city

IAN MENZIES: Yes, sir

BOB HAYNES Bob Haynes, Trustee of the University and Secretary Treasurer of Massachusetts AFL-CIO. Obviously these, both projects, have a great deal of value to the working men and women of Massachusetts. And we haven't heard too much about this. Could either of you or both of you comment on the project labor agreement and the value or lack of value that you see in that?

DOUGLAS MacDONALD: Yes. Just for background, if anybody wasn't familiar with it, much of your project, right--and all of our project--are governed by an agreement with the building trades which, in return for a recognition that the people

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working on the project will be from the building trades, buys for the public sector a number of very important agreements, the most important of which is a commitment to labor harmony and a commitment that any kinds of job site disputes will be resolved through a non-strike resolution process.

On Deer Island what it has meant is that we are up around 15 to 16 million hours of trade labor on the project without a single day's loss to any kind of labor disruption, in a setting which, if any of you have seen Deer Island, makes that almost inconceivable. We're a great fan of the Project Labor Agreement. There's lots of controversies around what it means, and you'll hear various things in the paper. But from the standpoint of MWRA, the Project Labor Agreement is a key piece of the progress we've made to date, and our ability to deliver the project in a timely and cost effective way. That's a pure endorsement

JAMES KERASIOTES: I'd like to follow up on that, if I could. My phone rings off the hook from contractors who have problems all the time. And those problems are things like, can you get the contract out a little bit faster so we can get started and get done in this work season too. The resident engineer on the street is being very unreasonable. I mean, we get calls every day.

In four years I haven't gotten a single contractor call on the Project Labor Agreement. So that must mean it works.

IAN MENZIES: Yes, ma'am.

JEAN RIESMAN: My name is Jean Riesman. I'm a student at MIT in their Department of Urban Studies and Planning, and a resident of East Boston, and I have a question for Mr. Kerasiotes. There has been a lot of talk about the benefits of the tunnel-

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artery project and also some questions about the level of mitigation for the project.

You've mentioned attention to mitigation during the construction period and what the path of the Central Artery itself may look like. I'm wondering if you could tell us the status of other mitigations in other parts of the project in other neighborhoods. Obviously, I'm particularly concerned about East Boston. For example, the buffer zone commitment there, even with all the discussion about containing costs.

JAMES KERASIOTES: Well, we made an agreement on the Bremen Street buffer park. We filed a piece of legislation. We have filed that legislation for three years now, maybe four--at least three. The Legislature has failed to act on it. We are fully prepared to follow through on that commitment. One of the things that I will say about mitigation in general--and I think that we all have to think about this--is that as the project comes under a microscope, we have to carefully weigh any new requests or any enhanced requests.

Let me give you a specific for instance. One could conceivably argue that the changes in the Charles River Crossing mitigated Scheme Z; therefore Scheme Z commitments don't need to be the extent to which they are. That's OK. We're not going to make any changes to that list of commitments.

But as we move forward, I think that one of the things that we have to be careful of is that we do not raise the level of concern in Washington, which is already high, about a project like this beyond what it has to be. And I think that what we have to consistently do is, we have to sort of live with the game plan that we have in place and understand that that's what we have to perform to, and anything new and beyond that is something that we probably can't talk about.

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But whatever has been committed to today, we intend to follow through on. We don't intend to back off. And I think that this relates back to the question from CLF about the surface. And one of the things that has been raised is, does the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority, if they were to become the owner/operator of the system, have the ability to negate any of those commitments because they are exempt from zoning? Well, the State of Massachusetts is exempt from zoning in the City of Boston too. We don't intend to back off of any of those commitments, and neither does the Turnpike Authority, if they ultimately become the owner and the operator.

JEAN RIESMAN: Thank you.

IAN MENZIES: Peter, I guess we'll make this the final question, and then we've got to adjourn for lunch.

PETER COLSON: Thank you. This is my question. While both of you gentlemen, I wouldn't want your jobs. I'm sure after these projects you'll both be members of the Hemlock Society [laughter], as you previously stated. But my question is to Doug MacDonald. Your projected costs or lack of projected costs on the maintenance of the project, Doug, is something that has always been a concern of mine, because with all our arguments and our screaming and hollering and the tea parties and everything else, trying to get you [to] secure money, I think we've helped to do that—the project costs, or the maintenance of the project costs is something that has been on my mind for many years, because there has not been, or up to this date never been a projected cost of what it is going to cost beyond the year 2000 or 2005 or 10. So is that available, or you don't want to make it available, or if you could make it available, I'd appreciate it.

[Laughter.]

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DOUGLAS MacDONALD: Actually, some day somebody will write the history of these two projects as to their costs and projections. And there's a couple of fundamental things that have to be said about both projects. One of the problems that Jim has had all along is that the interstate completion estimate process, which is the process by which numbers are pulled up into the paper for Jim's--for the Big Dig--always were current dollar costs and never contemplated inflation. So he's borne from Day One the problem of his numbers always going up from inflation. It's a very difficult public relations problem for that project.

Our project went the other direction. And all the original cost estimates included generous inflation assumptions--assumptions about very high interest rates on borrowing, and very generous assumptions about the ultimate operating costs of the project. And that's one of the reasons why our projections were so high.

And we really attacked that in three ways. The first has been to try to find ways to make the project smaller in absolute size. I mean, that's where Battery D comes, it's where CSO's come, it's sort of an inside ball game. But, you know, if you're familiar with that, we have cut project costs

The second thing we've tried to do, and the second attack, has been on financing costs, financing the project more intelligently and with more sensitivity to ratepayer concerns. Those are the two areas where we've made the most progress.

And the third, which is really what we're working on now, is trying to get a better handle on the very operating cost questions that you've raised. Many of our costs are driven by what will it cost to operate a secondary treatment plant at Deer Island? There's no really good way to project some of that. But we're starting to hit that issue very hard.

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Now, I'll just give you a couple of numbers. John Fitzgerald was over here--wave, John [laughter]--has just finished negotiating on our board last week--approved a new contract with New England Fertilizer Company operator in Quincy, which will save almost \$4,000,000 a year over the next five years in our projected costs for sludge processing. Well, that's, you know, that's one percent, that's one percent of the whole agency budget.

A few of those and you start to see a difference. We're in negotiations with Boston Edison Company. We're one of the largest electric power users in the region, and it gives us and Boston Edison all kinds of opportunities to deliver cost savings.


I said to Chairman Finneran on his way out that I had to come up and see him about some very preliminary numbers, but they are far more optimistic than anything the public has seen. And I'm going to kind of massage them a little more, but I think between now and our next bond issue, when we do the whole public layout, we're going to start to show you the sense that MWRA can get those operating cost numbers down, and I think it's going to make more of an impact on future rates than anything you've been reading about from the federal funding.

IAN MENZIES Please give a round of applause to these two excellent speakers.

[Applause.]

And we will now adjourn for lunch. And, as you know, Congressman Barney Frank will be speaking at approximately 1:00. I don't want you to get indigestion. But just pick up your plates and perhaps return to your seats would be the easiest approach. Thank you.

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 **LARRY KOFF:** It's a great pleasure to be here and to represent the Mass. Chapter of the American Planning Association, a co-sponsor of this conference. And one of the reasons is the speakers that Ian is able to assemble, and the other is the audience is a great cross section of planners and citizen planners and elected officials that are here. And I'd like you to join with me in giving Ian our applause and thanks for putting together this annual event.

[Applause.]

I would just like to close by saying what we have had here through all the speakers, beginning with Chairman Finneran, has been a great affirmation of planning and we look forward to hearing from Representative Barney Frank and his, I'm sure, positive comments as well. Thank you.

[Laughter.]

IAN MENZIES: Well, that was unexpected. Thank you for the kind remarks. It's my great pleasure now to introduce the Chancellor of this University, Sherry Penney, who in turn will introduce our luncheon speak, Congressman Barney Frank. Chancellor.

SHERRY PENNEY I'm back again. It's been a very power-packed morning, and I'm glad you have all stayed for the final event. I'm very pleased to welcome to this conference Representative Barney Frank of the Fourth Congressional District. Barney Frank has city, state and national government experience in depth. He is now serving his eighth term in the House of Representatives. Before his election to Congress, he worked in the government of the City of Boston in the administration of Mayor Kevin White, and also served in the State House of Representatives. His book on the state of the Democratic Party, *Speaking Frankly*, was published in 1992, and he is now widely

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considered the premier debater in Congress. In the first 100 days of the Republican majority it is he who provides the most incisive challenges to the Contract With America. We may hear from him today his assessment of the first 100 days of the new Republican majority. But we also hope to gain from him a sense of what we will face in 2005 in the nation, the state and the city, areas that he knows well.

We hope for the best case for the future. What should the region and the nation look like ten years from now regarding such matters as health care, transportation, education and how do we get there? He has a long relationship with the University of Massachusetts Boston. I know from Ian, for instance, that this conference was moved into April after Barney was snowed out in Washington in 1993. That's how important he is to us. We've also given an honorary doctoral degree to his mother, Elsie Frank, activist in elder affairs. It's always a pleasure for me to speak of the one of them, Congressman or elderly rights activist, with the other and I consider them both good friends. I'm honored then to introduce our close friend and supporter, Congressman Barney Frank.

[Applause.]

BARNEY FRANK: Thank you, folks. I actually predated you and you can't keep track of everything but I think my most important connection to the University is one of the most important connections one can have to a university. I taught here, when I was working for the Mayor. I had to give it up actually when I became a member of the Legislature because I could not take compensation from the University, while being a member of the Legislature. That was back in the old days when the Legislature used to vote funds for the universities. [laughter] I know that probably wouldn't be much of a problem today. Because the amount of conflict would have diminished. Substantially,

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that's what the people of UMass Dartmouth tell me which is the branch of the University, obviously, that I work with most closely today in southeastern Mass.

But I was glad to get a chance to come and as you read the list of my government activities, I notice as I look around, this is kind of a representation of people that I have known, I am among them, from the days that I went to work for Kevin White 27 years ago on down. Through the terms, my district, has been fairly changeable. If I go through one more redistricting, I may be the first person to have run for statewide office piecemeal. [laughter] I've now run in six counties. I've run for elective office in Suffolk, Middlesex, Norfolk, Bristol, Plymouth and Worcester Counties. I sometimes forget to mention Worcester County but that's OK because when I did run there, most of the people forgot to vote for me so--[laughter] by volume of votes, I didn't do that much in Worcester County. I think I carried the town of Bolton in a primary once. But that was about all.

The topic though about what's going on in Washington and how it affects you has never been more important. The decisions we will be making over the next couple of years, and, in particular, the decision the country will be making in 1996 in the election is very, very important to your efforts. Because the whole notion of what you do as people who try to plan, as people who try to integrate government with the private sector, who try to respond through collective efforts to some of the economic and environmental problems.

The whole notion that there's an important and a legitimate thing to do is now under attack. I don't think anyone should doubt the ideological thrust in Washington. On the one level people say, "Well we don't want the federal government doing it." But the

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logic of what they're talking about is that they don't want state and local governments doing it either and it is interfering with the relatively untrammelled decisions of the private sector and the motto here, really and because he was so amiable, people didn't always take Ronald Reagan's philosophy as seriously as he took it.

And he said in 1981 in his first Inaugural because--I remember that well because that was my first time as a member of Congress, so that Inaugural had a lot of meaning to me--and he said, "Government is not the answer to our problems. Government is the problem." And what you have now is, I think, a very extreme view that sees the public sector as an interference.

The dominant view in Washington today of Phil Gramm and of Richard Armey, the people who drive the Republican Party ideologically, and if you doubt that Phil Gramm is driving the Party ideologically, you watch every couple of weeks as he yanks Bob Dole a couple of steps to the right on Affirmative Action or deep tax cuts or banning or unbanning assault weapons.

Their view is that the role of government is physical protection from external enemies at the federal level, from domestic violence internally and not a lot more. I mean these are people who really have a very minimalist view of government. Our challenge is to regenerate the broader political coalition that recognizes what I think is a sensible role for government. The first thing we have to do is to stop taking it for granted. I think part of the problem has been that over the years those of us who believe that government--first of all we have to define--we are not countering, I hope, their extremism with an equal one. No one I know of today belittles the essentiality of a vibrant private sector.

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In fact, the whole question of private market driven forces versus the more collective approach to the productive sector has been largely resolved in my opinion. It certainly has been politically. There is not now in the western democracies a significant faction that talks about collectivization and socialization of the productive forces. We are generally agreed that the market works well and that a private sector system which is governed by market forces will produce the most because of the incentive system. And it will also distribute in ways that will help incentivize it.

So we're not talking about denigrating the private system. And there used to be an element of that and it creeps in sometimes and I think it is a mistake. Denigrating something as quote "just making money" unquote feeds into that. Unless you have a gun making money means doing something people want and if we have some basic democratic identification, the fact that something makes money in the private sector ought to be taken as a sign of its worth. It doesn't mean that it is absolutely right in every circumstance, but the fact that people are willing freely to part with some of their money for something means it's important and has some value.

On the other hand, we understand that while producing goods and services will be the role of the private sector, and the amount of wealth we have will be to a great extent, a function of a successful private sector, I think what has driven a lot of us is our understanding that that's a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the quality of life we want.

Unfortunately we have taken that for granted. Nowhere is that clearer than in the environmental area and one thing is very obvious, if you have very little government, in fact, that's one of the points we have to make clear is that an extraordinarily successful

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private sector not only is no substitute for a public sector, in fact, the more vibrant the private sector, the more you will need the public sector in many areas and the environment is a prime example.

The more productive you are, absent strong government, the worse your environment will be. If you are a capitalist in charge of producing something, it's your job to produce that as cheaply as possible. And if producing it as cheaply as possible kills trees and makes little children sick, absent the government, that's what you're supposed to do.

In fact if you voluntarily decide not to do that, somebody else probably comes and undersells you. And it might even be, if you decide to use your stockholders' money without government mandate to make the world prettier, somebody comes and sues you for misuse of their money. They didn't lend you that money to go out and be Johnny Appleseed. They lent you that money to make money for them.

No, if we decide that we want to temper production processes, so that we get a lot of goods and services, but we also get some restriction on environmental damage, there's no alternative, it's got to be done by government. And, in fact, in America today, with a national economy, it's probably got to be done much of the time by the federal government.

Incidentally please do not be persuaded by my comments, they don't like government, my right wing colleagues, but they have no particular preference federal versus state. One of the great scams is when they talk about what state's rightsers are. In fact like everybody else in America today, or almost everybody else, there may be some exceptions, I can't think of who it is, most of us when asked what level of government we

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want to decide a problem are in favor of that level of government where we are likeliest to agree with the outcome.

Sometimes that's the federal government, then we want it to be done federally. Sometimes that's a local government, then we want it to be done locally. I submit that it's perfectly OK as long as you don't pretend that there are some operative general principles that there really is an operative. I don't think there is any moral argument that says local government is better than federal government. There was a bias obviously for local things in the Constitution. The Constitution was a pretty good document, not perfect as Thurgood Marshall, among others, have reminded us. But, for its time, it was a remarkably good document.

The only thing they knew about electricity was that you could get it in your kite. [laughter] They operated in a time when physical distance was the dominant fact in human life. Things that were miles and miles away were remote from you. Today we talk about wanting things to be close to the people. Closeness today in the relevant sense, access of information, level of interest, etc. responsiveness has got very little to do with geography.

Indeed for most people in Massachusetts, county government is a lot closer to them than almost anything else and most people have no idea who the officials are at this government that's so close to them. Very few people can name all the county commissioners in their county. That's not very close in the real sense.

Well two hundred years ago it was. As a matter of fact, one argument you make against those who say we've got to send everything back to the states is in a national economy, particularly when we are dealing with things that are relevant to production processes, obviously the environment would be one of those, things have to be done

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nationally. You can't have 50 different state laws that govern this and you know who's made that argument very eloquently? The leadership of the Republican Party in the House of Representatives because that was their justification for saying that product liability legislation which has been wholly a state law matter for 200 and some odd years ought to be federalized.

I agree with that to a great extent but what's the argument for dealing with punitive damages on one single national standard but clean air locally? [laughter] Or income maintenance. You will expose the level of income for poor children to that enormous pressure downward that comes from interstate competition for industry. And just as there's an argument for product liability to be national, so is there for basic income maintenance in a society where the whole production processes are national. I mean the greatest inconsistency is coming up on medical care.

Apparently my very conservative colleagues are going to decide to give the states the enormous present of Medicaid. They will be in charge of medical care for poor people. And then some will say, "Well you know we would like to experiment here in Massachusetts with a single payer healthcare system." And people say, "Well that sounds good in theory, but it won't work out in practice, etc. Let's try it in a few states." I mean that's the argument you would expect from some of my conservative friends. The states can be experimental. But multi-state employers don't want to have to deal with more than one healthcare system for their employees. So they are adamantly against giving the states any flexibility in the healthcare area and to do that, to give them that flexibility, you would have to amend ARISA, the pension statute.

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So I can tell you very clearly when it comes to Medicaid, medical care for poor people, you will hear the virtues of states' rights and then a bill will go through to give that to the states.

When it comes to medical care for other than poor people, we will be told that we live in a national economy, with national needs, etc., etc. and you can't subject people to 50 different standards and we'll keep it national.

Now, again, if you want to be honest and say, "Look I think it would work out better from my view this way and my views that way." OK. But they shouldn't be pretending they have this state bias.

But what they do have is a kind of an anti-government bias. One of the things we have done, those of us who believe in government, you have conferences like this where you sit around and talk about how to govern better.

The other side has conferences where they talk about how terrible everything is and they publicize that better. The results of a conference like this are more likely to be fairly technical and nothing personal, but you know this is the case, pretty boring [laughter] analyses of how to do things.

Well constructive work is boring. Figuring out how to do the transportation system...that's not really exciting. But horror stories about some poor business person who had his life savings destroyed because somebody made a mistake, that's not boring.

Now the public sector makes mistakes. Obviously the private sector also makes mistakes. You know if we went outside we could see the Hancock Building. We could remember when it was made out of wood [laughter]. Obviously somebody screwed up

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pretty bad there. But that happens when human beings are doing complicated and difficult work.

What those of us who believe that government has a constructive role to play have done is leave the field of the broader debate, because we have taken for granted that you need both a private and a public sector and so we get all the horror stories.

We haven't talked enough about our successes and that's one of the things that we have to begin to do. In the environmental area, for example, I don't remember the exact statistics but I think it is the case and somebody here may know, my impression is that the likelihood that a three-year old today living in a big city will be brain damaged because of lead is very substantially down from what it was say even 20 years ago. That it's down by a very significant amount, because through government we took lead out of gasoline. And through government we started to regulate what you put on the walls of your house in terms of paint.

Now that could not have been done individually. You could say, "Well I could individually decide to repaint my house." But you can't control everywhere else your kid goes and you certainly can't control the air your kid breathes living in a big city when the cars go by and you happen to live in a place where for a variety of reasons there are a lot of cars.

Now I cannot think of anything of which a society should be prouder than reducing the likelihood that a small child will be brain damaged by the ingestion of lead. And we couldn't have done that without government. And it's a great success and we never talk about it because we take it for granted that that's what decent people do. So we have to talk some more about that.

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There are two parts of what we have to do to take back government. We have to rebuild a consensus for an active role for government and that's very much what's at stake and I will tell you come the '96 elections and we talked about this earlier, if you look at the legislation that has gone through the House of Representatives in these past few months, more of it assails environmental rules in various ways than anything else. Both substantively and procedurally.

There is an all out assault on the environment going forward and it'll be getting even stronger when we get to the Clean Water Act and the Super Fund and the Clean Air Act, etc. And, yes, there have been environmental excesses and I've occasionally disagreed with this and that environmental decision but this is a pretty wholesale assault.

And come 1996 if the electorate does not seem to have minded, I can guarantee you that the national consensus will be, "Well there's no more votes in environmental concerns. People don't much care about that." And that'll be gone.

I think that won't happen. I think the extremism of the attack on government is generating some defense and it's partly just a political thing.

One of the things that happened is that the very conservative side, the anti-government side, did a much better job of organizing themselves. If you don't believe in government, you get a lot of free time. [laughter] I mean you don't go to planning, no I'm serious, if you don't to planning board meetings, and you don't go to these kinds of meetings, you have more time, and they have put their time into organizing this assault. And they have their network of very conservative TV, etc. They did a much better job in '94 of mobilizing their troops than people who believed on the other side. A lot of our people were disappointed because we fell short.

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To make one partisan remark, I've had a lot of people tell me over the years, "Well you know there's no difference between the Democrats and the Republicans." I assume no one thinks that any more. I don't believe this but I wouldn't even argue--we Democrats from the standpoint of various groups on the left may not be any better than people thought before, but they must now understand that the other guys are a lot worse. [laughter]

We can do a certain amount simply by pointing to their extremism and reminding people of what's so essential about government. As a matter of fact, we have this going for us, the right wing manages to make people dislike government in general, but when people dislike government in general, they like government in particular.

William Safire had a great phrase a few years ago. He said the liberals have created a whole that is smaller than the sum of its parts. People like funding for kids to go to college. They don't like the idea that college students are going to have to start paying the interest on loans while they are still in college. They don't want public transportation cut back. They don't want low income home heating assistance cut back. They don't want the kind of cuts in Medicare that are going to come and by the way, I'll give you an example of government's role that's going to come back.

The Health Insurance Association of America did a very clever job with those Harry and Louise ads of persuading a lot of Americans that their healthcare quality would be damaged if the government got involved because the government would get between the people as patients and the medical providers. That was one of the cleverest pieces of political reverse jujitsu you've ever seen because, of course, it is increasingly clear to people today that there's an entity standing between them and their medical provider and

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it is Harry and Louise, it is the health insurance industry. They are the ones who are telling people, and increasingly and you are getting this now from the medical profession. I had a delegation from the Mass. Medical Society and increasingly medical practitioners now understand that they may need the government to get involved in this situation to protect them from the health insurance industry.

The medical profession is sponsoring national legislation that would interpose the government into the healthcare situation to protect medical providers from being unduly restricted in the care they give by the health insurance industry.

This is the medical profession calling on the government to help them vis-a-vis purely private relationships. A private employer and a private health insurance company and they're being told they can't do this and they just told me about this. The Patient Protection Act they call it. It would set standards by which health insurance private sector entities would have to make decisions about the provision of healthcare.

And whether you agree or disagree with the specifics and I'm inclined to agree with a lot of it, but I want to look at it in some more detail. It's a fascinating move by the AMA to say, "All right, wait a minute, can we have the government in here, please because this private sector stuff is not working out so good for us and for our patients?"
[laughter]

I think we can rally against support for this kind of extremism. People, as I said, like government in general--they like government in the particulars even though they don't like it in general. But we have to take a step beyond it and this is the last point I want to make.

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Why have the conservatives been able to discredit government in general, given that they like government. How have they been able to go beyond their ideological faction and it is clear that a significant section of working Americans became disenchanted with government and with us, as Democrats, but that was--I think we were identified as a party of government and how do we deal with it?

This is a step that we have to take at the national level. I think the problem is that America's period of post war dominance which was an exception was taken, understandably, by those who have lived in this period as the norm. America came out of World War II in 1945 with a degree of dominance over the rest of the world that was unreal.

We were the only major producing society that didn't get badly damaged by World War II. We had people killed. It was a tragedy for Americans but our society was strengthened by World War II. We weren't physically destroyed the way many were. We weren't socially totally discombobulated the way many were. So for decades we could really sort of dominate the world and Americans came to think if you were an American worker, not subject to prejudice, you could expect to go to work and if you worked hard, even if you didn't have any particular scarcely provided skills, but if you worked hard, you could count on economic security on the whole.

You weren't going to get rich but you had economic security and as we began to move towards Social Security, and another great thing we've done in government We turned Social Security into an entity so that the likelihood that when you get older, you will become desperately poor is a lot less than it used to be. And why we treat that as a problem rather than as a great social achievement bothers me. We did a great deal when

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we indexed Social Security to cut down poverty among older people. Now we haven't done nearly enough to cut down poverty among children but the answer to trying reduce poverty among children is not to reintroduce it for elderly people. That was one good thing and we ought to build on that and do another good thing.

The average worker, without a lot of skill, could count on economic security. That's no longer there to the extent that it was. It's no longer there because of technological change and because of the internationalization of the economy and one of the things that some of my liberal friends, I think, have failed to understand is yes international trade and integration at the international economy is not only inevitable but overall good for the country. But just because it is good for the country, as a whole, doesn't mean that it is good for every group within the country. In the long run it will be good for everybody, but remember the single greatest piece of political wisdom, I become more and more convinced, even better than "all politics is local" from our sainted former Speaker which is Number Two The most important was Keynes's and Keynes's may be in and out of fashion on his economics, but on one area he was absolutely right. "In the long run, We'll all be dead." [laughter] You cannot tell any significant group of people, "Yes, I know this is a significant problem for you, but in the long run it will be better."

Because they know in the long run they're going to be dead. And you know if you're 52 years old and you've been working for 30 years in a garment factory, to be told that in the long run America will be better off is not great comfort.

We have not done enough as a society to compensate working people for the short-term negative effects they encounter when things go on in terms of the technological advance in this economy and economic integration.

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The Economist, in its October issue, had a great article. And, of course, they're a great trade publication and they said, "Remember the theory that justifies free trade is comparative advantage." Comparative advantage says each society should do what it does better.

When rich countries trade with poor countries, the theory of comparative advantage tells us that the richer countries will do better in the areas where people are very sophisticated, have a lot of capital to work with, a lot of skills and the poorer countries will do better in the lower less sophisticated productive efforts. That is working people without a lot of sophistication will do worse in the short-term in the richer countries and people at the upper end will do better.

I can tell you that because when we were debating NAFTA, I could look at my mail. Ordinarily my district tends to be in general on the same side of issues. It's a district that goes from Kenmore Square to Rehoboth to Wareham and back up through the cranberry people to Rockland. It's sort of an odd-shaped district. Interesting in America today, if my district were predominantly black, it would be considered unconstitutional. You're not allowed to gerrymander to the benefit of black people. But since they gerrymander to my benefit, that's OK. I have an odder shaped district than many of those that have been floated around in the Supreme Court. But usually there's a general agreement, but in this one there was the sharpest class distinction I've ever seen.

I got letters. I just sorted the NAFTA mail and I just looked at the envelopes, and I could tell you whether they were pro or anti. The pro NAFTA mail was laser printed on very nice stationery and everything was correctly done. The anti NAFTA mail was in pencil or harsh typewriter on lined paper and maybe they got a few things wrong.

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The problem is, and this is an irony, it is the very conservatives who have kept us from trying to do things to alleviate the short-term negative effects on working people who then benefited from the working people's anger. I think what we got was people who had been mainstream workers and this, by the way, seems to me to be where the white male thing comes in. Who have the mainstream workers been? Well they've been white males until fairly recently. It was white males on the whole who had the expectation that the work place would be fair to them.

If you were black or a woman, you probably weren't quite as sure that the work place was going to be all that fair to you for this 40-year period. I mean when we started out-- one of my favorites is the police chief of Washington, D.C. in the mid 80's, Isaac Fulwood, who was the first black police chief of Washington, D.C. and he was the police chief until about 1990. When Isaac became a police officer in the capital of America, he was allowed to walk the street, but he couldn't ride a car because he was African American. And in Washington, D.C., the nation's capital in the fifties, when Isaac Fulwood became a cop, blacks were allowed to walk but not ride. Only white cops could ride.

It's kind of hard then to think, "Gee, why is this economy not being fair to me?" I think some people knew that that could happen. It was the people who were not who will be subjected to prejudice, who had the expectation that if they went and worked hard, everything would be--likely would be OK. There would be recessions. But, you know, everybody would be hurting a little. One of the problems now is that for the first time a lot of working people kept reading in the paper and hearing on the television how good the economy was going. But they were losing work. They were being told they had to give

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up benefits, that their pay was going to be frozen and maybe cut back. And then they said, "Well, then, I thought this was a good economy." What we have to do—those of us who believe government has a positive role—is prove it to the victims of these economic trends. Because that's where we lost, it seems to me. We had people who said, "Well, if government is so hot, how come I'm so much worse off?" And what then happened was some of the right wing came in and they had a very plausible explanation to these people. They said, "Do you know what your problem is? First of all, the government is taxing rich people too much. And so therefore the rich people can't make jobs for you. Secondly, the blacks and the women are taking your jobs away. And, third, we're giving too much money to the poor people. And that's why you don't have good jobs."

Now, none of those make any sense whatsoever. My favorite is the argument that says, "The problem is that the poor people have too much money."

[Laughter.]

But that's what they say. I mean, one of the defining characteristics of poor people, as we know, is that they haven't got any money.

[Laughter.]

In fact, we all know this. AFDC is a minuscule part of the federal budget. If you took all the money away from all the poor children, all these two- and three-year-olds, who some people claim are somehow rolling in dough, if you took all that money away there wouldn't be enough really to go around to make a big difference for anybody else.

And they have certainly not remotely proved statistically that it is Affirmative Action that has displaced the workers. What has displaced workers in America, whether they've been in Digital or General Motors or anywhere else, is technological change,

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internationalization, the two come together. We live in a world where you can make almost anything almost anywhere and sell it almost anywhere else, because a whole variety of things control techniques, transportation etc.

What that has done is to put into play America's workers in a way that they weren't before. The insulation that we had as he wrote it. Now, I think we have to do a better job of dealing with that. And I was pleased to see *The Economist* say, "Hey, as free traders we think that we had better start compensating people more when they're the short-term losers."

John Kennedy had a great phrase about Franklin Roosevelt, when he was talking about the Good Neighbor Policy of Roosevelt. He said Franklin Roosevelt could be a good neighbor abroad because he was a good neighbor at home. If you want to have an America which is internationalist in the appropriate ways, then it better be an America in which working people feel that their needs are also being taken care of.

And we can't prevent short-term job loss. We can do job retraining and we can do some other things. But there are two policy things I'd take away from this, that we have to do at the national level, and we have to do them both because they're right and because, if we don't do these, the consensus that supports all the other pro-government activities crumbles.

First, we have to say to people, if you lose your job because of these trends over which you have no control--internationalization, the economy, it might be imports and it might be that the job gets moved overseas, the factory gets moved overseas, it may be it's downsizing because they've got to meet competition and it's proved they can downsize even better because of technology.

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These things are coming up. There is a story today in Thursday's *New York Times*--I'm a little behind--about the new gold mine in Ghana that they found. It's a terrific gold mine; it's doing very well, but it doesn't hire anybody. They don't dig any gold; they crush rocks and treat it. And so people were very disappointed. They read about the great gold mine that's producing wealth for the country. It's not hiring very many people. I mean, that--what do you do with people in these situations? Obviously these techniques are going to produce new jobs.

I understand over the long term things will be better. What do you do with the people in the transition? Well, it does seem to me you can say to people, Look, we are really going to try and stop you from losing your job. But if you lose it, then there may be a drop in your standard of living. We'll try to minimize that. And in particular, we'll try to prevent you from three very traumatic things that can happen when you lose your job. You can lose your home, your kids have to drop out of school, and you lose your medical care.

There isn't any reason why the federal government can't have programs that help people so that the loss of the job doesn't mean those three terrible things to people. And we're capable of doing them

How do you do it? Well, it takes some money. And I don't want to drag this out longer, but there's one source of money. People are acting as if we've got this terrible budget problem. We have a military budget that is at least 50 percent larger than it has to be. We still act as if we are facing a world where we are physically at risk.

I understand there could be a problem again in Russia. But when they tell me, "Oh, America, we still have got to worry about Russia, and we have got to worry about

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our preparedness." I want us to be prepared. But they still are not able to pacify Cechnya. Now, Cechnya is not a major military power. And if you want to talk about a lack of preparedness, you are talking about a society over there that was obviously so corroded by its own weaknesses, that they just aren't a plausible military threat to us. And they say, "Well, you know, there are other countries. Iraq." Yeah. Iraq. I don't like Saddam Hussein. I don't want to see him doing bad things to other people but when we went to war against Sadam Hussein and we engaged our forces in any significant way, the war lasted two days.

Now people say, "What about Iran?" As far as I'm concerned the people who run Iran shouldn't even be allowed to drive cars, much less run a country. I have no sympathy for them whatsoever but there's one very important point that shouldn't be forgotten. Iran lost the war to Iraq. [laughter] So I think--we are over prepared for the dangers in the world. We continue to defend western Europe against non existent threats. We could bring down our military spending by tens of billions of dollars a year--you do it over a three or four year period, much of it is spent overseas.

We are talking about zero-based budget, If we were starting tomorrow, looking at the world as it is, nobody would build an American military machine that's anything like what it is now. So we have to do that.

The last point, we should also be looking in our international economic relations and there's going to be a disparity between America and the rest of the world but we should be trying to minimize it. George Bush made a grave error in 1972 when he fought against--in 1991 rather, the ... Conference. We have very high environmental standards in America. It's in our self interest as well as in the interests of the environment for us to

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export good environmental standards. We should be urging everybody else to have good ones. We should be urging everybody else to have worker rights.

I've worked very closely with the AFL-CIO on this. We want to see, "You want to trade with us? You want aid from us? Then you've got to have free collective bargaining." You have got to let your workers' wages rise at least for productivity. Throw out the old model where you squeeze the worker so you get more capital to go around because the greater the disparity between American standards in the environment and worker fields, the worse the drain will be here.

So those are the two things we've got to do. We have got to address the problem of trying to improve international standards, environmentally and in worker terms and we have got to compensate working Americans whose lives are threatened with terrible chaos if they get hit with the loss of jobs. That's probably going to be inevitable for a lot of people. If we don't do that then the right wing will continue I believe to be able to blame us for those other factors and you're going to see that the ability to do the kinds of things you care about go away. There will be no national transportation funding, there will be no national environmental policy and all the kinds of work you do will be made much harder.

I'm relatively optimistic but it's not enough--we will gain a lot simply by showing how extreme the other side is. But that's not good enough. We have to go a step beyond it and the step beyond it, I think, is to address the economic insecurity of working people in the ways that I talked about. Thank you.

[Applause.]

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IAN MENZIES: Thank you, Congressman and thank you, Chancellor. As usual the Congressman's remarks were not only insightful, but challenging. And, as usual, amusing, constructive, without being boring. And apropos amusing I was really tickled by Representative Sonny Buono's remarks about Barney which he may have heard a hundred times, but I still think it gives me a tickle. Buono said, "The guy is amazing," he told reporters at a Press Club dinner. "He can fly from one mike to another mike, shouting 'Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker, point of order'. I go "'Wow, I'm impressed by this guy.'" Then addressing Frank, who was in the audience, Buono added, "I'm going to keep watching you, if you don't mind because you're the best I've ever seen. I haven't figured out what the hell you do but it's good." [laughter]

Although it's not my place to say so, I think this conference as others before it, gave us once again an excellent window on what's going on nationally, in the state, in the cities and towns. Where were at and where we're going.

It's hard sometimes not to push a lot into a short time frame which we do but it does open up paths of inquiry that you individually can follow. And if it is all too much to absorb in a morning's session, we'll be making a transcription of the proceedings at a small charge, so that you have a record to refer to as well as data and the opinions of the speakers.

I suppose we're all doing this, but what did we learn? Well I tried to make a couple of notes, one liners, one thing we learned among others, is that megaplexes is not on Tom Finneran's Dance Card [laughter] That Mayor Menino is willing to dream of a better Boston and work for it. We were told the Third Harbor Tunnel will open this year and not too many people know about it and something that caught my ear from Kerasiotes

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was that he marveled at what Fred Salvucci had achieved and how much he had made that enormous step to do this. Hubie Jones worries that unless we get our varied ethnic groups working together and that includes vitally in the schools that we may be going no where. That this changing ethnic demography within the city is terribly important and we're not giving it as much attention as we should. Geoff Beckwith wants to see more cooperation between the cities and towns short of government changes and presumably he's talking about, you know, metropolitan government and so forth. John DeVillars and Trudy Coxe both brought us very positive environmental pictures. One of Barney's last remarks gets to me, too, because I think it's really at a heart of a great deal when he said, "We have not done enough for working people." And Al Lupo as usual was Al Lupo.

And now I would especially like to thank Kathleen Foley, Assistant Director of the McCormack Institute who co-produces this annual event with me and does the really hard backstage work. And our wonderful support staff behind her in turn, Pat Mullen, Madeleine Pidgeon, Kathy Rowan and Ruth Finn and Megan Early. And, of course, I close by once again thanking all our speakers who did a superb job and as a credit to you, I might say, too, that many of them stayed to hear the other speakers, which is really a compliment. I think what we've learned is that there are ideas to make Boston and the State a better place by 2005, and it's good to hear that the short term, for instance, that Finneran talked about short-term thinking, is obviously getting changed a little bit, people are beginning to think along longer lines. You've been a wonderful audience. The meeting is adjourned and drive home carefully. Thank you.

[Applause.]

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North Dartmouth, MA 02747-2300
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***New England Journal of Public Policy (NEJPP)**, *is jointly published by the McCormack Institute, Padraig O'Malley Editor and the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth's Center for Policy Analysis, Clyde W. Barrow, Managing Editor, A semianual publication the Journal publishes timely and perceptive articles of regional and national interest. For subscription information contact Clyde Barrow, Managing Editor at 508-999-8943*

Religion and Conflict: The Case of Northern Ireland, Padraig O'Malley, June 1995.

Business Climate and Megaplex: A Survey of Voter Attitudes, (sponsored by the UMass Economic Project, an initiative of the President's Office), Louis DiNatale, June 1995.

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